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THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF IRELAND

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE STORY OF YPRES

THE BOOK OF THE PISTOL

AUTOMATIC PISTOLS

A BUSY TIME IN MEXICO

THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF IRELAND

THEIR RISE AND PROGRESS

By

CAPTAIN H. B. C. POLLARD

LATE OF THE STAFF OF THE CHIEF OF POLICE, IRELAND.

LONDON :

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FOREWORD.

For the purposes of this book I have undertaken a considerable amount of research, and have read all the existing books, pamphlets and contemporary journals, germane to the subject, upon which I could lay my hands. In most cases I have indicated, either in foot-notes or in the text, the sources of information quoted. Most of these sources are available in the libraries either of Dublin Castle, the Irish Office, or the British Museum.

In all cases where statements of fact appear which are not referred to published books or documents, they have been gleaned from papers which came into the possession of the authorities after raids, etc., or are from confidential official sources.

H.B.C.P.

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PREFACE

A BOOK of this nature, dealing with existent organisations, inevitably labours under certain handicaps. The worst of these is, perhaps, the fact that all the counter-measures of the Intelligence Departments and Police who deal with the problems raised by these societies may not be even suggested. All that can be said is that the authorities are well informed. They will probably continue to be so, unless, at some future date, the cost of vigilance is foolishly economised. This has been done in the past by doctrinaires in office, and to a large extent the expense and political difficulties attendant on the recent Irish Rebellion could have been obviated, had an Intelligence Department, dealing with Irish affairs, been properly maintained in the years preceding and during the Great War. Sound political intelligence, properly appreciated, would have obviated the tragic years.

The problem of the Irish secret societies raises a vital question for solution by statesmen rather than by politicians. So long as there exists a powerful criminal organisation rooted in the United States, as well as in Ireland, and with ramifications all over the globe, whose avowed object is the establishment of an independent Irish Republic by methods of political assassination

and secret murder, then how long will any settlement of " The Irish Question " endure ?

The following pages will show that for centuries the peace and prosperity of Ireland have been broken by malignant and terrible secret associations of Irish people who have brought ruin and suffering on their country.

For the last seventy years, the source of infection has been external, and the Irish of the United States have been responsible for energising the Irish of Great Britain and Ireland into active crime. It must be realised that this " organising " of the Irish is a remunerative trade or calling—just as much as that of the professional coiner, burglar or blackmailer—and that, so long as men can earn dishonest livelihoods by the plea of patriotism, so long will the Irish Republican Brotherhood and kindred criminal bodies maintain a sporadic activity. Given a spell of weak government in Ireland (and it is not yet proven that Irish self-government can be strong) they will seize the opportunity and trouble will inevitably occur.

The attitude which I have taken throughout this book is that of the normal citizen interested in the maintenance of social order. To certain doctrinaires and extremists, rebellion and murder are not criminal, but justifiable and even praiseworthy. I do not hold these views, and with some experience of other revolutions besides the Irish one, I do not believe that they convey any immediate or future benefit which cannot be obtained almost as expeditiously and with far less suffering to the whole mass of the nation by ordinary constitutional means.

Certain elements deride that loyalty which is the stereotyped code of the servants of the Crown, but there cannot be diverse political interpretations of the functions of a policeman or a soldier. The unshakable loyalty of the Royal Irish Constabulary throughout its career has been one of the finest and noblest things in the history of Ireland.

From the point of view of the adherent of social order, it is impossible to treat of sedition, political assassination and rebellion other than as criminal. One must view them purely from the police standpoint and treat political phenomena of this nature from a criminological point of view. In these days of political instability there is a wide-spread confusion of ideas; and the conception that crime attributable to or covered by a gloss of political grievance is not true criminality is spreading dangerously, and moral values are being usurped.

That I am not alone in this view is shown by a letter on the Irish Question by Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P., to *The Times*, in which he stated :—

"Murder is not a legitimate political instrument; it is a cruel abomination, which deserves the gallows in this world and hell-fire in the next.

"Both the Government and their critics appear to believe that a remedy is to be found in some change of political machinery. But the true *causa sine qua non* of the murders in Ireland is not a political grievance, but a wide-spread moral depravity. The Sinn Fein movement and its abominable crimes are only the last of a long series, certainly going back to the days of the Whiteboys, 160 years ago.

"The evil is a moral one, and the remedies must be moral. The two great remedies are law and religion."

Religion has failed utterly as a deterrent from homicide in so far as the Irish are concerned, and, in point of fact, it matters little to a soldier whether he is shot by a seditious communicant or an equally murderous atheist. But it matters a great deal to genuinely religious people. No one would be so foolish as to judge Roman Catholicism by the Irish rendering of it, for Irish Catholicism is something apart ; yet it is, perhaps, the greatest failure of a Church celebrated for successful missionary endeavour.

Some explanation of the continued failure by the English to enforce law throughout Ireland will be found in the following pages.

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CHAPTER I

The Early Organisations

The earliest records of a secret society in Ireland are those connected with the insurrection of 1641. Under Charles I Roman Catholicism had been again proscribed and worship had to be performed in secret. There was then organised among the people an association known as *The Defenders*, whose ruling spirit was the celebrated insurgent leader, Roger Moore, celebrated in legend as Rory O'Moore.

Roger Moore had been educated abroad in exile and had spent much time in Spain, where he probably learnt the mechanism of secret revolution which he later applied to Ireland. Certain it is that the rising was generally anticipated, and that Irish Catholic exiles began to filter back to Ireland from all parts, preparatory to the rising which burst out on October 23rd, 1641, and was characterised by massacres of the Protestant settlers. The popular password of the period was "God Our Lady, and Rory O'Moore."

The reasons for the rising of 1641 were complicated in that, though nominally a religious war, all the other elements of the period, the contest between King and Parliament, the aggressive intrigues of Spain and the old resistance of the conquered and expropriated Irish landowners, provided motives for the alliance of different elements.

The nominal function of the Defenders was the protection of the fugitive priests during the period of proscription and the holding of the passes while Mass was celebrated in some mountain glen. The enemies of the faith being the Protestants, and the Protestants standing for the Constitutional authority of Britain, the Defenders soon became a criminal association of law-breakers and banditti.

The Cromwellian campaign of 1649 crushed out the effects of the successful rising of 1641, and famine and banishment completed the subjugation of the turbulent land.

The priesthood was early recognised as largely responsible for the continuous insurgency of the country, and all Irish priests were deemed guilty of rebellion and sentenced to death. It was also a capital crime to know where a priest was hidden and not inform the authorities. The five pounds reward, given for a wolf's head, was also given for a priest's. The bigotry of the Cromwellians in Ireland was remarkable, but, in fairness, it must be admitted that loyal Roman Catholics in England were not persecuted. The policy of extermination in Ireland was mainly due to the unfortunate identity of Irish Roman Catholicism with sedition and rebellion, a tendency which recent events show persists* to the present day.

The nature of the Irish priesthood was recognised when, at the Restoration of Charles II, the Irish Catholics were excluded from the Act of Indemnity; and when the *Popish Plots* of Titus Oates

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* *The Administration of Ireland, 1920*, by 'I.O.', pages 44, 49, 53, 54, 57.

came to a head, *Irish Papists* terrified the popular imagination as much as did *Jesuit emissaries*. It is a peculiar circumstance, that Archbishop Oliver Plunkett, Roman Catholic Primate of Ireland, who had attempted to put down the criminal association of Defenders in the South of Ireland, was accused by the infamous Oates ; and at his trial at Westminster certain of these Irish priests, who had been censured by him, gave false evidence against him. The Archbishop, though innocent, was, through the false evidence of these members of the secret society, sentenced and duly hanged at Tyburn.

The notorious modern society known as *The Ancient Order of Hibernians* (q.v.) is the direct successor of the original society of Defenders : in common with its ancestor it attempts to enable the clerics to exercise control in politics.

The Defenders as an organisation seem to have been modelled on the infamous Spanish secret society known as the *Garduña* (*anglice* " polecats "). This Garduña was originally a secret organisation of robbers, bandits and masterless men who were organised by the priestly party in Spain to take the offensive against the Moors and Jews under the Emperor Ferdinand. The war against the Moors promised pillage ; the bandits of the period were devout if bloodthirsty Christians, and the curious organisation was successful. Two millions of Moors and Jews were driven from the realm, and their money and property passed *via* the partnership of Garduña and priests into the possession of the State and the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

After a time the Garduña resented the heavy tax on its ill-gotten gains, and the State took action against the bandits. The Inquisition, however, maintained the old alliance and continued to accept its share of the proceeds of robberies; so we find the military and civil power at war with banditti who are united in a secret organisation and who work in alliance with the most powerful factor in the Church.

The Garduña had no written charter; the rules, signs and passwords being, in the main, orally transmitted. There were nine degrees, those of the 7th being priests known as *Magistri*. They conducted the initiations, kept the rolls and preserved the traditions of the society. Above them were the *Capaces* or district commanders, who yielded allegiance to the *Hermano Mayor* (*anglice* "Chief Brother") who, as Grand Master, exercised absolute control over the whole organisation. He was usually a powerful Court official, and the whole social fabric was honeycombed with people in authority who were secretly *Garduñeros*.

The society was political in that its services were devoted to the Church Party, but in practice it was entirely run for the profitable exploitation of crime. It acted as a hideous jackal to the powers of the Inquisition, but systematised ordinary crime such as robbery, kidnapping, murder for hire and similar activities. The profits were divided into three parts, one for the Headquarters Fund, one for those who carried out the deed and one for the current expenses of the local association.

The basis of the ritual was purely religious and patriotic, in the sense that patriotism is always

interpreted by those who join secret criminal societies of ostensibly patriotic purport. The central legend round which clustered the mysteries of the Garduña was as follows :—

" When the Moors, sons of Beelzebub, first invaded Spain, the celebrated Madonna of Cordoba took refuge in a Christian camp. The Almighty, nevertheless, allowed the Moors to defeat the Christians in order to chasten them. Driven by the invader, the Christians became wandering bands in the Asturias.

" In the Sierra Morena lived at this time a hermit of great sanctity called Apollinarius. To him appeared the Virgin with the following message :— ' Thou seest what evil the Moors do to thy native country and thy religion. The sins of the Spanish people are, indeed, so great as to have excited the wrath of the Most High, for which reason He has allowed the Moors to triumph over you. But while my Son was contemplating the earth, I had the happy inspiration to point out to Him thy many and great virtues, at which His brow cleared, and I seized the instant to beseech Him by means of thee to save Spain from the many evils that afflict it. He granted my prayer. Hear, therefore, my commands and execute them. Collect the patriot and the brave, lead them in my name against the enemy, assuring them that I shall ever be by their side. And as they are fighting the good fight of the faith, *tell them that even now they shall have their reward, and that they may in all justice appropriate to themselves the riches of the Moors, in whatever manner obtained.*

" ' In the hands of the enemies of God, wealth

may be a means of oppressing religion, while in those of the faithful it will only be applied to its greater glory.

" ' Arise, Apollinarius, inspire and conduct this crusade ; I invest thee with full power, anoint thee with celestial oils and present thee with this amulet which worn will give safety against Moorish arms, the rage of heretics and sudden deaths.' " *

Such, briefly, was the legend of the inspired anchorite Apollinarius. This figure became vulgarised as *Cal Polinaro*, the hero of the ritual, and his name was one of the passwords. The ordinary hailing-sign was the lifting of the right thumb to the left nostril, and there were certain grips, signs and words for every degree.

The Garduña flourished at its best between 1520 and 1690, after which its intimate connection with the Inquisition became relaxed. It was not finally suppressed in Spain till 1822, when the last Grand Master, one Francisco Corting, and sixteen followers were duly hanged at Seville. The records of the Society were captured and are now accessible among Spanish criminal archives. The American lodges of this society continued in South America and Cuba until 1850, but the anti-clerical revolutions of the quondam Spanish colonies destroyed the power of the society with that of its leaders, the priests.

This strange alliance of Catholicism with brigandage is not incomprehensible in an age when men passionately sought temporal power for the Pope. It was a lawless mechanism as well suited to the Irish as to the Spanish temperament. O'Moore

* C. W. Heckethorn : *Secret Societies*, vol. I.

preached his secret doctrine to the wild Irishry, and it is probable that the fraternity of the Defenders was one of the most potent elements in helping mutually incompatible representatives of Irish septs to sink their domestic hatreds and personal jealousies and prepare for a massacre of Protestants and the delivery of their country from the Scots and English settlers within the pale.

Behind O'Moore were French and Spanish Jesuits, and the redoubtable hero was probably only an instrument in their hands, his country only a pawn in the game of world politics. He initiated the combination of a criminal and political secret society working with a seditious national priesthood for the overthrow of Government by force of arms. These elements have been permanently and disastrously rooted in Irish national life ever since. The secret association of Defenders blossomed into the open movement of the Confederate Catholics and the massacre of 1641.

The history of the Defenders after Cromwell's bloody reckoning with the Irish Catholic Confederacy is little known. The open movement of insurrection had been stamped out and the organisation was simply a secret criminal political society, submerged but venomous. It was an age of intrigue and religious plotting. Roman Catholicism in those days meant foreign domination to the British, and the shadow of militant France and Imperial Inquisitional Spain stood behind the now exiled Stuarts. The Irish Catholics, as distinct from the English Catholics, supported the Stuarts more from hatred of the English than from any belief in the Divine right of Kings—unless they be Irish Kings.

The exiled Irishmen who infested the European capitals acted as couriers, bravos and intermediaries in the seething web of intrigue. The Jesuit influence in the development of the Defenders was reinforced, and their ceremonies and symbolism slowly changed to an elementary ritual closely modelled on that of the ceremony of initiation to the Society of Jesus of the period. This ritual has descended with many accretions and modernisations to the present time ; and the American branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, misled by it, traces its origin back, not to 1641 and the Garduña, but to 1563 and the foundation of the Society of Jesus.

In the troubled period till 1745 the terrible penal laws against Irish Roman Catholics perpetuated the enmity between the Catholics, as the dispossessed, and the Protestants, as the possessing. But in 1745 the Catholics were again granted the right of public worship, so the need for the Defenders as secret protectors of the faith vanished. Despite this, the organisation endured as a primitive secret society enforcing its own laws and disregarding all others. For years its real object had been agrarian outrage and opposition to Protestant exaction ; this slowly merged into the natural anti-landlordism which has always been a marked Irish national characteristic.

The members of the organisation were mainly peasants and small farmers, and the endless land hunger of the native Irish urged them to the commission of agrarian outrage. It was one of the basic tenets of the society that all Irish land belonged to the Irish people, not to the usurping

landlords or tenants of the victorious British Crown. Though remaining inherently Catholic, and exacting a mystical sense of comfort from this peculiar perversion of the faith, the society became agrarian rather than political. It also suffered change in name and split into several different but kindred secret organisations, of which the most notorious was the *White Boys.*

The White Boys gained their name from the white shirt they wore as a disguise or uniform over their clothes when on their nocturnal raids. They were also known as *Levellers,* and resisted the enclosure of common or undeveloped lands by destroying the new walls or hedges. The White Boys progressed rapidly from attacks on property, cattle-maiming, tarring and feathering to occasional assassination ; they developed their programme to include all grievances connected with the buying and selling of land, tithes, rates and evictions.

In 1762 Lord Drogheda was charged with the suppression of this murderous association, and the White Boy Act was passed. For a time the action of the authorities was moderately effective, but by 1774 Whiteboyism had become a general menace ; outrages took place by daylight and offenders were seldom brought to justice for fear of the vengeance of the other miscreants.

Among offshoots of local branches of the White Boys were the *Levellers* of Tipperary, the *Cork Boys* of Cork, the *Right Boys* or agents of Captain Right ; all these organisations made a practice of nocturnal outrage, intimidation and turbulence and general agrarian outrage, and the general condition of the country was badly disturbed.

By 1760 the Protestant peasantry who had settled in Ulster also began to form secret turbulent agrarian societies in imitation of their Catholic neighbours. The *Oak Boys* of Armagh, who wore a sprig of oak leaf in their caps, were the first of these tenant organisations, and in 1768 the *Hearts of Steel* or *Steel Boys* were formed among the dispossessed Presbyterian tenants of the absentee Marquess of Donegal, who had sold their holdings to new owners. After great outrages and disorders, in which troops were involved, the Steel Boys emigrated *en masse* to America and were peculiarly vindictive opponents of the British in the subsequent War of Independence. They may conceivably have founded the germ of the subsequent anti-British Irish-American organisations which were not essentially Catholic, but were absolutely revolutionary.

In 1774 two rival secret societies sprang into prominence in Ulster; one was the Protestant *Peep-o'-Day Boys*, the other a renaissance of the old terror, the Catholic Defenders.

In the south and west time had changed the nature of the duel between the criminal secret associations from their original religious or sectarian basis to a struggle between landlord and tenant. Here in Ulster the duel of rival secret organisations began and has always continued on sectarian or religious lines. The Peep-o'-Day Boys were the genesis of the powerful Orange organisation, and their rivals, the Defenders, were doomed to abandon agrarian outrage for political fervour and the disastrous insurrection of '98.

CHAPTER II

The United Irishmen

Just as the complex religious struggle of the seventeenth century had its reflex in the abortive Irish rising of the Catholic Confederacy in 1641, so the world-wave of the French Revolution with its new standards of philosophy was about to have its reaction in the Irish rising of 1798. In the same way as the secret society of Defenders had laid the seeds of the open insurrection of the Confederacy in 1641, so once again Irish secret societies were to play their part in the preparation for the drama of '98.

The spirit of the age was that of Republicanism, and it was not compatible with the inherent Catholicism of the southern secret societies. The south was insurrectionary in the National and Catholic sense, but in the Presbyterian north a party had formed who were Protestant and Presbyterian and hated Popery, but were also keen on the independence of Ireland as a Republic.

After all, the northern settlers were not many generations removed from the stern Republicans of Cromwellian times, and the Orange traditions which they held celebrated the success of William III as a leader of the anti-Stuart revolution. This North Irish Republican movement antedated that of France, but was one of the

vital factors in bringing about the successful revolt of the American Colonies.

A distinction must be made between this typical British Republicanism and the later European variety which brought about the Terror in France. The works of Rousseau, Voltaire and Diderot, and the current philosophy of the time circulated among the few Irish intellectuals, but the essential doctrine of the European Revolutionists concerning the destruction of property and all social order made but little headway, the bulk of the North Irish Republicans being tenant farmers and small property owners.

The Declaration of Independence of the American Congress on July 4th, 1776, had an astonishing effect on the Irish situation as a whole. All elements, both Catholic and Protestant, were restive under the chronic misgovernment of the period, and the hardships inflicted on commerce by the incidence of the American War had all but ruined the country. The British Government, faced with the certainty of trouble in Ireland and the fact that they had neither men nor resources to undertake a proper subjugation of the island, yielded a belated measure of justice to the oppressed Catholics. In November, 1778, a bill was passed enabling Irish Catholics to take the oath of allegiance, to acquire lands by lease or purchase. This measure tided over difficulties for the time, but the state of the country was too bad to be materially affected by any measure which did not give financial relief.

The British Government was at war with France, America, Spain and Holland. Russia

and the Northern Powers were in armed neutrality, and the outlook was dark. Then came the threat of a French invasion of Ireland—and the British Government had no troops to spare for its defence. The prospect of a French invasion might be grateful to the south, but the Protestant north, albeit at the time not in favour of British control, had even less use for French and Papal domination. Contrary to law, but without overt opposition from the British, the City of Belfast raised armed companies for self-defence—the *Irish Volunteers*.

The movement spread throughout the country from north to south and was supported by the Catholics, though these latter were statute-banned from bearing arms. Volunteer associations spread throughout the country ; soon they were a regular army organised in brigades and equipped with artillery and specialist troops. Dublin Castle, afraid of the movement, but still more afraid of the invasion, reluctantly issued twenty thousand muskets, and the joint assembly of volunteers became the only important political power in the land.

The power of the Volunteers rose steadily from 1779 to 1782, when, rather than face open insurrection, Great Britain surrendered her claim to control the Irish Parliament and repealed the Act of George I. Ireland was constitutionally free and a bloodless revolution had been brought about.

The Irish Volunteers then began to debate on measures of reform to be applied to their Parliament and at the National Convention of November 10th, 1783, delegates of 150,000 armed men attended. The bone of contention was the plea

of the Catholics for emancipation. The Convention rejected it and then proposed a Bill of Reform to the House of Parliament, who, resenting the influence and menacing pressure of the Volunteers, stood firm. The quarrel was now between Parliament and the Volunteers; dissensions spread in the ranks, great men withdrew their patronage, and in a short time the whole wonderful Volunteer organisation fell to pieces, lost all power and, having denied the cause of the Catholics, received no support from even the minority.

The break-down of the open movement of the Irish Volunteers led to a revival of the ever-present subterranean current of intrigue, and 1790 gave birth to a new revolutionary movement. In the meantime certain developments had taken place in the secret associations.

The Catholic Defenders had developed from plain agrarian outrage and sectarian warfare into an organisation with at least rudimentary political consciousness. The open Catholic Association which stood for Catholic emancipation and reform was spineless and powerless, but the secret organisation gathered adherents. On the other side the Protestant Peep-o'-Day Boys had waxed powerful in Ulster and waged a bitter and oppressive warfare against all Catholics. Both parties were savage and merciless, and between them they brought large tracts of Ulster to a state bordering on anarchy.

The enormous influence of the French Revolution now began to make itself felt in the councils of the secret associations, Jacobin missionaries

spread the doctrine of the revolution, and a new spirit of militant republicanism was born. These emissaries from France aimed at bringing England low and spreading the doctrine of world-revolution by means of an alliance between the Catholic malcontents of the south and the Republican Presbyterians of the north.

The tenets of a true Jacobin of the French Revolution were utterly subversive of all existing institutions and approximated to those scheduled by the revolutionary secret society of the *Illuminati* of Bavaria, which was founded by Weisshaupt in 1776 and had penetrated both France and Italy by 1782. The ritual of this order was symbolic and followed certain spurious masonic parallels, but its basic tenets became the *credo* of revolutionaries of all kinds, and it furnished the dominant motive behind a host of minor secret societies and was later the essence of *Carbonarism*.

Just as the Jesuits had adopted much of the outward form of Freemasonry, so Illuminism in its turn adopted the mechanism of unquestioning obedience of the Jesuitical system and its doubtful doctrine that evil may be wrought in the cause of good, but substituted an anarchial and subversive code for the tenets of the Society of Jesus.

The higher degrees of Illuminism and its affiliated societies alone held the secret doctrine of revolution. Worthy aspirations of reform, platitudes about tyrannies, and mild philosophies concerning the rights of man, contented the vast mass of the lower degrees and the blind followers. The elect Magi or Philosophers of the higher degrees held faith in nothing but general destruction. They

believed in the overthrow of all forms of Government and all creeds and forms of religion. They abjured Christianity, advocated sensual pleasure without any restriction of ethics or morality, believed in the annihilation of the soul at death, and held patriotism, loyalty and other virtues as narrow-minded prejudices restricting universal brotherhood. Privilege and property were to be done away with, marriage was to be abolished, and the education of children taken out of the hands of parents and transferred to those of the State. The abstract conception of good was attacked, and the Jesuit proposition that evil might be committed in order to produce ultimate good was further extended to include the theory that only the wisdom of the elect was able to determine what was that eventual " good " which was the object of the Order.*

The Republican idea was held by the elect to be no less troublesome than royalty, but a good bait for the mob. The catch-phrase of liberty was never defined except as the liberation of the mind and body from all shackles and restraint imposed by any extraneous condition. This proposition in itself was destructive of the slogan of fraternity and equality.

There was never any sign of a real constructive programme, though theoretically the destruction of society was to be followed by a Millennium and probably by a communal world scheme. Actually it is very doubtful if the secret leaders of the cult had any other desire than to overturn existing

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* See *Appendix A* on *Illuminism in Ireland.*

structures and secure personal loot and profit and aggrandisement out of the ruins. The dupes and fanatics held that by the destruction of existing order the wretchedness of the masses would in the end be alleviated. The doctrine is baseless, as has been proved by both the French and Russian revolutions, and incapable of producing either happiness during the period of terror or afterwards.

It was in the main a very much diluted version of these doctrines that penetrated to the Irish. The conception of universal anarchy was no bait for the hard-headed Ulsterman, but the dream of the abolition of despotism and class-tyranny was visualised in the attractive form of a general distribution to the poor of the partitioned estates of the wealthy. The animus of the Jacobins against religion, too, had to be quieted down for Irish consumption.

The existing secret societies of Defenders and Peep-o'-Day Boys were in 1790 almost completely confined to the lowest classes, and there were no men of standing or education in their councils. Napper Tandy, who had been a commandant of artillery in the Irish Volunteers, was the leading go-between in the dealings of revolutionary France with insurgent Ireland, and played no small part in the establishment of revolutionary lodges in Ireland.

In 1791 Theobald Wolfe Tone was invited to meet some of the ex-members of the Irish Volunteers in Belfast and founded the important society of *United Irishmen.* Tone's concept was the unity of all Irish elements, Protestant as well as

Catholic, and in his own words, "to subvert the tyranny of our execrable Government, to break the connection with England and to assert the independence of my own country." In a few weeks a branch of the society was established in Dublin with Napper Tandy as secretary. A newspaper, *The Northern Star*, was published at Belfast, and another, *The Evening Star*, in Dublin.

It is a curious fact that Tone formed the nucleus of the United Irishmen out of an *already existing* club organisation in Belfast, of which, in his diary, he speaks as follows :—"On the 12th, did business with the *secret committee* who are not known or suspected of co-operating, but who, in fact, direct a movement in Belfast." Tone and Tandy were Republicans, but in the proceedings of the Society at this time there was no outward manifestation of this eventual aim of the leaders.

The organisation swiftly gained power and became a strong supporter of the demand for equality of Catholic and Protestant. The Government did not relish this coalition of dissatisfied elements; the French Revolution was thriving, and, rather than see it spread, they were ready to conciliate the Irish Catholics, realising, perhaps tardily, that the traditional Catholic is slow to become a revolutionary. In 1793 the Catholic Relief Bill was passed, and the policy of the Government was to set off the Catholics against the Northern Republicans. The propaganda of the United Irishmen was hostile to this mechanism of government, and in 1794 the Government acted vigorously and put down the society and its journals.

The blow intimidated many of the weaker vessels, and popular support fell away, leaving the revolutionary nucleus. The organisers of the society then remodelled it as a revolutionary, republican secret society, and in 1795 drew up new oaths of secrecy to replace the old innocuous form of "test," and developed the mechanism of subordinate societies and committees. In each of the four provinces of Ireland a subordinate directory was established, who superintended the organisation in that province. Baronial, County, and Provincial Committees were established beneath them, and the unit of a subordinate circle or Society was limited to twelve members. The whole society was controlled by the executive directory of five persons, elected by the Provincial directors, but the personnel of the executive was not known to the Provincial directories but only to their secretaries.

The following year Napper Tandy, on behalf of the United Irishmen of Dublin, entered the Society of Defenders, and very soon the whole of the latter organisation was absorbed into the United Irishmen.

This combination of the Defenders with the Republican society of the United Irishmen was countered by the sudden and mysterious rise to power of the *Orange Society*. The Peep-o'-Day Boys in their war against the Defenders had obliged some 7,000 Catholics to flee from Armagh. The property of the fugitive Catholics was taken by the Protestants, and the long-drawn-out persecution ended in a chronic condition of turbulence.

A minor event brought matters to a head;

both societies gathered for the Battle of "The Diamond" on September 21st, 1795, and joined issue. Military arrived and took sides with the Peep-o'-Day Boys against the Defenders, and a considerable number of the latter fell in the fray.

On the evening of the battle a number of the delegates of the Peep-o'-Day Boys met at the house of Thomas Wilson at Loughgall. There and then the name of the society was changed to *The Orange Society*, and a grand lodge and subsidiary lodges initiated. The ritual was founded on Freemasonry (1° York rite), and the legend was that of the Exodus of the Israelites. Later the Purple Degree and that of Mark Man were added, and at one time the Co-masonic rite of Heroine of Jericho was adopted, but later wisely discarded.

The original Peep-o'-Day Society had been confined to the lower orders, but with the change to Orangeism the upper classes began to take place and rank in the organisation which was secretly fostered by the Government as a connterpoise against the seditious United Irishmen.

The interest of the French in the progress of the Irish revolutionary movement now became quickened. Tone, who had visited the United States in 1795, and who had come into touch with the French authorities there, had not been fully empowered to commit his society. But in the May of 1796 the society took the fatal step of soliciting foreign aid. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was their missioner. Accompanied by Mr. Arthur O'Connor, he proceeded to Switzerland and concluded a pact

with General Hoche, who represented the French Republican Directorate. In November of the same year the French sent an agent to say they would land arms and ammunition and an expeditionary force at Bantry Bay.

The prospect of this assistance involved the conversion of the United Irishmen from a civil secret society into a secret military and insurgent society. The change began in 1796, and of the 500,000 members of the society, 300,000 were deemed capable of bearing arms. The change was easily effected, the conspirators simply assuming military titles according to their rank in the society.

Tone had, in the meantime, sailed from America to France and represented the society there. He set sail with the French Fleet for Bantry Bay, but a series of storms separated the vessels, so that only ten ships and 6,000 of the expeditionary force reached the Bay, while Hoche, who was in command, was driven back with seven ships. For five days the French flotilla waited in Bantry Bay for Hoche, but as he did not arrive and it was too rough for landing, they returned.

The secrets of the United Irishmen were known to the Government, as many of the highest-placed members were informers. The negotiations with the French were closely followed. In 1797 another agent of the Society, Mr. Lavins, went to Paris and pressed for a second expedition. This was agreed to, and a powerful fleet was accumulated in the Texel. At the critical moment the mutiny of the Nore—a mutiny largely inspired by seditious Irish sailors—paralysed the British Fleet, but

still the French did not sail because of delays in embarkation, and later, contrary winds.

At length the Government decided to break the back of the movement by arresting the leaders on a charge of high treason. The whole of the directory were arrested at a meeting, with the exception of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was absent and for some time escaped arrest. The seizure of the leaders threw the movement into confusion, but a general rising was planned for May 23rd. Lord Edward was to command. On the 20th he was located in Dublin and wounded while resisting arrest. He died in prison a few days later. Martial law was proclaimed and the kingdom declared to be in a state of rebellion. Events rushed to a climax, and on the 23rd the rebels rose, and troops, both regular and loyal yeomanry, moved against them.

The history of this futile rebellion shows how slender the unity inculcated by the United Irishmen really was. It broke up naturally into Loyalists and Protestants *versus* Insurgents and Catholics, and the most barbarous atrocities of religious warfare were committed on both sides.

By July the insurrection was practically crushed, when a French expedition under Humbert landed on the Mayo coast early in August. This expedition was rounded up and surrendered in September, and shortly afterwards a small French naval force was met with off the Ulster coast, headed by the line-of-battle ship, *Hoche*. She was captured and the remainder of the flotilla dispersed. On board the *Hoche* was Wolfe Tone, who was captured and landed with the prisoners at Letter-

kenny. There he was identified, taken to Dublin and sentenced to be hanged. Awaiting the gallows, he cut his throat in his cell and so perished.

With the failure of the revolution of 1798 open and secret plotting to establish a Republic came to a temporary end. The attempt at separation brought about the Act of Union, and a peace of exhaustion reigned which was only broken by a futile attempt by Robert Emmett to provoke rebellion in 1803.

Emmett is the historic prototype of the unrepentant Irish revolutionary who is undeterred from future crime by the leniency of a short sentence. He had served in prison for his share in the United Irishmen's rebellion, but had been released and had fled to Paris. From there he returned and got into touch with what was left of the irreconcilable United Irishmen. His father having died and left him a few thousand pounds, he spent his money on arms to prepare another rising in Dublin. There he set up two munition factories, one of which providentially exploded, putting the authorities on their guard.

On the evening of the 23rd July, 1803, Emmett and a small band of fanatics rushed out into the streets of Dublin with some idea of capturing the Castle. They met the old Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, Lord Kilwarden, in his coach and promptly murdered him. Troops came up, the rebels were dispersed with heavy loss, and Emmett went into hiding, to be captured shortly afterwards in Dublin and hanged with seventeen others of his company.

The function of the secret societies of the pre-

Union period was to prepare the necessary mechanism and atmosphere for the open revolution. The faint assistance given by the revolutionary French and the slackness of the Republican Directory of France can only be explained on one assumption. The hidden leaders of the revolution were not prepared to support a country which was still predominantly Catholic in religion and whose democracy was essentially superstitious and reactionary peasantry. The seeds of republicanism and the tenets of subversive revolution were, however, sown and have never been eradicated, nor have they yet come to their full harvest.

CHAPTER III

Ribbon Men and Others

The result of the insurrection of 1798 and of the bloody horrors of its suppression was that the different elements of insurgency were clearly defined. On the one hand, we find the Catholic people and bourgeoisie linked in alliance with the Jacobin minority among the Protestants, on the other side there are arrayed the governing classes and the loyal Protestant settlers. The secret organisation of United Irishmen stood for the subversive elements, while the Orange secret society stood for uncompromising support of the Crown and Constitution and Protestant principles.

The rebellion had led to the destruction of the United Irishmen as an active association, but it was not killed—only scotched, and Emmett had had no trouble in finding secret devotees to help him in his futile rising, thereby showing that the virus still existed. Thus, despite the failure of the French Revolution of the Jacobin period, the collapse of the Directorate and the rise of the Consulate of Napoleon, there were many who still clung to the dangerous doctrines of the Revolution.

It is worth considering the abstract influence of Jacobin thought fairly closely, for it is only by appreciating the psychology of revolutionists that

we can analyse the conflicting elements of the Irish insurgency of the time. The Jacobins—like their descendants, the Bolsheviki—were out to produce a total upheaval of established society, not only in France but wide-world in its distribution. The revolution in France was aided, if not brought about, by Orleanist and Prussian influence, for there were many interests converging insensibly towards the same end which were exploited by the engineers of the Revolution.

In these days it is difficult to think of any leader of the Revolution as being moved by impersonal, detached motives. People have sought to find in all those personalities the dominant motive of calculated logical self-interest ; it was present in perhaps the majority, but the dreadful and powerful organising minority of intellectuals were fanatics, and to them the " secret principles of revolution " were in very fact a *religion.*

The fanaticism of religion is seen at its best when crowds are the subject of its swift intoxication. The frenzy of Welsh revivalists, the astounding " Gospel meetings " of the American negroes, are commonplace modern instances of emotional crowd psychology. In the early days of the Russian Revolution, sane and cynical observers were sent by Fleet Street to report on the situation in Russia. It was remarked that those men rapidly became infected with the doctrine and returned unbalanced—unable to explain what it was that appealed to them. They were inarticulate, unable to reconcile revolution with commonsense, yet impressed with the stupendousness of the topsy-turviness, drawn willy-nilly by the

crazy ideals, transcendentally stirred by the immensity of the blood sacrifice. "Bolshevism," they said, "was a new thing, a gigantic thing, it was not like a closely-argued political creed—it was *religion*."

Jacobinism and Bolshevism may differ in some details of policy, but are identical in psychology and basic doctrine. The Jacobin had no more real interest in the people than the Bolshevik leader has in the proletariat; the people who incidentally always suffer most in these upheavals were to be sacrificed heedlessly in order to make the new theories translate into fact. This temporary misery, suffering and death would be but a little thing compared with the wonderful benefits to be conferred on posterity by the revolutionary system—when established.

The great mystery of revolutions is the comparative ease with which a few determined self-seekers and a handful of energetic visionaries can coerce vast masses into a genuine temporary belief in their illusions. The Irish people have always been, and so long as they endure will always be, the prey of agitators. Education is no prophylactic, for the educated Irish are just as easily swept to illogical vehemence by mass hysteria as are the rude peasantry. Thus the Jacobins, though they despised the Irish for their peculiar subjugation to the Catholic priesthood, yet realised that there was no better material for swift conversion to the principles of anarchy, provided that some specious pretext was available.

The cause of religion, the cause of Irish nationality, or any other cause that could be

selected from the endless catalogue of Irish grievances, real or fancied ; these were but handles, levers with which to start the snowball of destruction rolling. The ideal to achieve was universal chaos.

Great Britain has always stood out as the natural opponent of fantastic and illogical schemes of revolution. Slow, constitutional, inherently law-abiding, the mentality of the English people is absolutely opposed to revolution, so long as progress can be peacefully effected by constitutional reform. The leaders of the French Revolution knew that so long as Great Britain was not infected with the revolutionary craze, their own movement was doomed to eventual failure and collapse. War with England was, therefore, decreed at the earliest possible moment, and the revolution in Ireland was to be part of the war measures against England. In the general welter of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars the fact was largely lost sight of that these wars were only a secondary phenomenon of the Revolution.

The interdependence of " Church and State " was much more than a mere phrase in those times a hundred and fifty years ago. The aggressive policy of the Roman Catholic Church and its natural orientation with the common enemies of England—Spain, France and the Stuarts, was a living thing in memory. In Ireland, to the Protestant settlers and the governing classes of the Protestant ascendancy, " Church and State " was the vital backbone to which they clung, and it was early recognised that the subversive doctrines

of Jacobinism threatened both just as much as did the agitation for religious and racial freedom among the Catholic Irish. The Orange Society was, therefore, not so much a national growth out of the Peep-o'-Day Boys as a carefully inspired movement probably originating in the councils of English Freemasonry, and designed from the beginning as a counterpoise, not only to ultramontanism and Catholic sedition in Ireland, but to Jacobinism as well.

The historian of the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland, Ogte. R. Gowan,* tracing the development of the Society year by year from its inception in 1795, states that in this year :—

> "The pernicious doctrines of the United Irishmen were still going forward, and the Catholic Committee with Wolfe Tone, Hamilton Rowan and Napper Tandy were indefatigable in their exertions to spread far and wide the detestable doctrines of *republicanism* and the *French Revolution.* Several gentlemen of worth and fortune considered it would be prudent to lend their countenance and support to the 'Orange or Boyne Society' in order thereby the better to contend against the evil doctrines and principles sought to be inculcated by the 'United' and the 'Catholic Committee.'"

In 1796 the activities of the Defenders became true to the Irish racial tradition—a veritable persecution of intimidation, outrage and terrorism. This process of intimidation—though effective

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* *Annals and Defence of the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland, 1825.*

among the Irish themselves—always has the contrary result of inspiring active resistance when applied to Scots or English stock; so the very pressure of the Defenders brought about an enormous accession to the ranks of the Orange Society. The following year many Orange lodges were formed by their patrons into armed volunteer associations, and the policy was approved by Viscount Castlereagh, then Chief Secretary. In 1798 the Orange troops were invaluable in crushing the rising.

The much debated matter of the Act of Union was not touched by the Orange Society as such, the Grand Lodge issuing repeated instructions that no discussions were to take place on the subject in the lodges lest dissension rise and the society be weakened. In 1807 the establishment of Orange Lodges in England spread rapidly in Lancashire and the North.

Despite the repeated asseverations of the Orange Society that, while it would not admit Catholics or trust them, yet it was no enemy to any loyal man whatever his religion might be; nevertheless, it must be admitted that religious bigotry and intolerance play a large part to this day. This mutual intolerance and bigotry are still marked Irish characteristics, but to-day the balance of intolerance lies with the Orangeman. In Ulster the lines of religious cleavage follow the political division, Protestant-Unionist, Catholic-Nationalist, and, as the latter party has now been almost entirely absorbed by Sinn Fein, the identity of Irish Catholicism with active treason is no mere figure of speech.

In the South, religious intolerance is far less marked, but still lingers among the peasantry, as the following letter received by the mother of one of the cadets murdered at Macroom in November, 1920, demonstrates :—

"Seeing your photo in *The Sketch*, I regret the death of your boy, I being a mother myself and having reared and nursed sons to love their country and to love their God. We find it very hard when we are now fighting for a cause which all other nations have obtained but our poor distressed country. The Macroom Military have shot and put to death three months ago four boys in the Ballyvourney and Ballyeary quarters, west of Macroom. They were coming to Dunmanway that Sunday about 4 o'clock they were killed, there was a map and directions found on them to burn that night two families—Crowleys and Nyhans. There were only three girls in Nyhan's house. In Crowley's house one of his boys was killed in France and the other is in jail in England. Several times these houses were raided and turned upside down. *The Military told them not to blame themselves, their Protestant neighbours were the cause of it.* The Macroom were coming to meet those Military to Dunmanway to show them those houses (the Black and Tans did not know them). You can console yourself by saying you would rather your boy be dead and with his All Merciful God than making a dupe of himself to satisfy the poisoned hearts and minds of Carson's Orange Gang, who have themselves sworn to go ankle-deep in the Papist blood."

The closing phrase of the above letter is an astounding echo of the oath used by societies that existed a century ago.

After the suppression of the United Irishmen the society, as such, disappeared, but within a year or two we find a renaissance of the old agrarian Catholic secret societies which had been absorbed into the Defenders and thence into the United Irishmen. The provisions of the Insurrection Act which forbade the possession of arms and enforced a curfew at nightfall were in operation until 1805, when with its relaxation appears the *Ribbon Society*, about 1805–1807. The members of this organisation were known as Ribbon men from the fact that one of their signs of identification was the displaying of certain ribbons as part of their attire. In different counties local organisations of Ribbon men called themselves by different titles, such as: the Threshers, the Carders, the Molly Maguires, Rockites, Caravats, Shanavests, Pauddeen Gar's men, and the like. These names were local, the *Carders* belonging to East and West Meath, Roscommon, and part of Mayo. The *Caravats* hailed from Tipperary, Kilkenny, Cork and Limerick, and were a faction society bitterly opposed by the rival society of *Shanavests*, who were organised in the same territory.

The Caravats were called *Pauddeen Gar's men* until this latter worthy, in attendance at the execution of a member of his gang who had been prosecuted by the rival Shanavests and who was sentenced to be hanged for burning a man's house over his head, declared " he would not leave the

place of execution until he had seen the caravat placed over the fellow's neck."*

The Societies had their own oaths, signs, passwords and rituals, and there was some sign of co-operation between them. In the main the members were uneducated savages, but a sprinkling of merchants, schoolmasters and priests were a leavening of the whole. This, their form of oath, has almost the same ending as the modern letter from a Cork resident already given :—

> " In the presence of Almighty God and this my brother, I do swear that I will suffer my right hand to be cut off my body and laid at the gaol door before I will lay or betray my brother. That I will persevere, and will not spare from the cradle to the crutch, or the crutch to the cradle, that I will not pity the groans or moans of infancy or old age, but that I will wade knee-deep in Orangemen's blood and do as King James did."

The oath given above is stated not to have been revealed till 1895 and is possibly inaccurate and from hostile Orange sources, for Sarsfield rather than King James was the rebel hero of the Williamites period. Nevertheless, the Ribbon oath was fairly comprehensive, and O'Leary, in *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism*, writes :—

> " I could wish that in the interests of morality, if not of theology, the Catholic clergy took oftener to the denunciation of Ribbon men and the Ribbon oath."

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* Brown's *Narrative State Trials in the 19th Century*, vol. I, p. 400.

The tendencies of these Ribbon Societies appear to have been devoted more to sectarian warfare against Protestants in general, and the hated and feared Orangemen in particular, and to the usual agrarian outrage than to any republican or even nationalist idea. But it is worthy of note that the mechanism of traditional secret societies in Ireland was always kept intact by the survivors of successive ill-fated rebellions.

The disappearance of the Jacobin *motif* is probably due to several causes. In the first place only Irishmen of a certain standard of education were likely to be converted to its principles; secondly, the Jacobin was usually a town-dweller, whereas the bulk of the Ribbon men were peasantry; thirdly, the Catholic clergy had realised that the vaunted principles of liberty and equality which had attracted them had not been applied to the Church in any country where the Revolution had made headway, and that Jacobinism and Christianity were incompatible.

The agrarian objects of the Ribbon men were to prevent landlords from changing or evicting their tenants, or new tenants from taking up farms whose previous tenants had been evicted. They also attacked tithe collectors and process-servers, and later evolved the policy of Tenants' Rights.

Just as the Orange Society refused to admit Catholics, so the various Ribbon organisations were entirely confined to Catholics; and, despite their dedication to crime, the rules insisted that the members should have fulfilled their religious duties at least once every six months.

The decade from 1810 to 1820 was marked by

a series of steps toward Catholic emancipation, but nothing actually occurred. Various bodies were formed and the personality of O'Connell came to the fore. Once again an open movement was to begin, and the subterranean organisations were to be used as the hidden framework of organisation. In May, 1823, the *Catholic Association* was founded by O'Connell.

The condition of the secret societies at this time is amply revealed by the report of the trial of Michael Keenan for administering an unlawful oath,* and that of Edward Brown and others†, both of which were held in Dublin in 1822. The evidence discloses the existence of a wide-spread but nameless organisation whose members were known as Ribbon men, but whose lodges had various names for the Society. It was variously known as the *Fraternal Society*, the *Patriotic Association* and the *Sons of the Shamrock*, the *Board* and the *Brotherhood*.

It still continued the system of organisation used by the United Irishmen. A lodge was limited to forty members and they met as a rule in the fields by night, armed sentinels being posted to guard the spot. The lodge was under a Master or Body Master, who controlled three committee-men, each of whom was responsible for twelve members of the lodge. The Masters were represented on divisional committees allocated on the basis of four or more divisions to a geographical county. The divisional committees were controlled by

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* Tract 5, vol. 87, *Irish Office Tracts.*
† Tract 6, vol. 87, *Irish Office Tracts.*

Parish Masters, who in turn were represented on the County Council, which contributed two delegates to the National Board.

The national organisation controlled the changes in the passwords and the "quarrelling signs" by which members made known their identity when a quarrel was imminent. The latter at this period were :—

Q. "I don't wish to see an argument, gentlemen."

A. "It is all a misunderstanding, sir."

The printed form of oath employed by these societies was innocuous, but was in reality a blind, for a second and much more terrible oath was exacted from members. The regulations prescribed death as the reward of the betrayal of the secrets, and the business of the society was the anticipation and secret preparation for a period of rebellion. These trials of 1822 showed that the hidden leaders of the Ribbon men had arranged with certain organisations of English Radicals to provoke the alarm of a rising in Ireland if the Queen (Caroline)—then under trial—was condemned. The British troops would then be sent to Ireland and the English Radicals were to rise and overturn the Government, leaving the people of Ireland to exterminate the British troops and work out the kind of government they wanted for themselves.

It is difficult to suggest which group of English Radicals was implicated in this scheme, but 1820 was a disturbed period and Thistlewood's Cato Street plot was but one of the manifestations of general industrial revolutionary ferment.

The general opinion of Ribbon men was voiced by

Lord Chief Justice Bush who, passing sentence on a Ribbon man at Wicklow, stated :—" It has appeared most satisfactorily in evidence, it has been most fully and unquestionably proved that the intentions and object of the Ribbon Association are the political separation of Ireland from Great Britain and the extermination of its Protestant inhabitants."*

O'Connell, on the other hand, declared " he had been informed by a gentleman that in the oath administered to the Ribbon men in the King's County and in Tipperary was to be found an injunction to be faithful and true to the Catholic Association." †

In 1825 the name of the Ribbon men was changed officially to the *St. Patrick's Fraternal Organisation*, otherwise known as the *St. Patrick's Boys*. This change was essential as, like their predecessors the White Boys, this eminently Catholic Association of Ribbon men had now been excommunicated by the Catholic Church. There was, however, no change of policy or heart.

The oath of the St. Patrick's Boys was recorded in 1833‡ as the following, which is in close accordance with the Ribbon oath :—

" I swear to have my right hand cut off, or to be nailed to the door of the prison at Armagh rather than deceive or betray a brother ; to persevere in the cause to which I liberally devote myself ; to pardon neither sex nor age, should it be in the way of my vengeance against the Orangemen."

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* *An Authentic Review of the Catholic Association*, by " Amicus Hibernicus," 1825. P. 66.

† *Ibid.* P. 66.

‡ Heckethorn's *Secret Societies*, Vol. II, p. 272.

One of the phrases in their ritual of recognition is significant :—

Q. " How long is your stick ? "
A. " Long enough to reach my enemies."
Q. " To what trunk does the wood belong ? "
A. " To a French trunk that blooms in America and whose leaves shall shelter the sons of Erin."

As the agitation for emancipation grew, the trouble between Ribbon Lodges and Orange Lodges increased. The Duke of Brunswick was the Grand Master of the latter, and Brunswick Clubs, to resist the Catholic Association, sprang up everywhere in the North. The year 1828 passed without trouble, but with incessant agitation.

In 1829 Ribbonism became rampant in Munster, and Catholics everywhere only awaited O'Connell's word to rise in arms. In Tipperary Police Barracks were burnt. The next year, 1830, to avoid the inevitable civil war, the Catholic Relief Bill was passed. This Bill, like all other Irish Bills, was believed by the people to be the beginning of a period of Heaven on Earth. These hopes were blighted and the people were restless. O'Connell had to find a new object for agitation and started a movement for the repeal of the Union. In 1830 there were two open Associations, the *Anti-Union Association*, founded by O'Connell, and the *Irish Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union*, both of which were promptly suppressed.

By 1833 the secret societies were again active and were at war with the landlords, the clergy and the tithemen. In one year, 196 murders were com-

mitted, and Ribbon men, Blackfeet, Whitefeet, Tenyalts and others ravaged the country. A strong Coercion Act was passed, and 1831 is a black date in the chronicle of Irish lawlessness. From then to 1835 the tide of lawlessness increased, and secret societies of all kinds were rampant. The Orange Society, which had also been proscribed in 1827 and had been passive, became more energetic, and in 1835 a select committee was appointed to inquire into its character and objects, and had found it had some idea of dethroning the King to put the Duke of Cumberland in his place. In 1836 the Orange Lodge of Great Britain was formally dissolved, and the Irish Lodges, although they continued, were, nevertheless, rather discredited and viewed with little sympathy by the Government of the day.

The Repeal movement grew in vigour, and O'Connell organised well. The 1843 monster meetings were held all over Ireland by the *Repeal Association*, but Peel recognised the danger, re-enacted the Arms Act, and began to apply pressure. O'Connell threatened Peel with civil war and troops were poured into the country. O'Connell was prosecuted and imprisoned, but the decision being reversed on appeal, O'Connell was freed.

Already the secret organisation beneath the open movement was forming. The *Young Irelanders*, an extremist section of the Repealers, formed a seceding section as against the Constitutional party led by O'Connell. Then in 1845 came the appearance of an entirely external factor, potato blight, which destroyed the bulk of the potato harvest and brought about the

great famine of 1846, when the whole potato harvest of Ireland was rotten.

Misery and discontent and the atrocious conduct of the absentee landlords, who did nothing to relieve their tenants, yet extorted rent, were the recruiting agents of the physical-force party. Outrage was frequent, and the Young Irelanders organised *Sarsfield Clubs*, whose object was drilling, arming and war. Opposed by the power of the priests, little supported by the people, the abortive rising of '48 was easily put down, but its leaders lived to found *Fenianism* and the *Irish Republican Brotherhood*, which exists to-day as the root of all trouble in Ireland.

The leaders of the Young Ireland Party of 1848 were John Mitchell, an advanced Radical, deeply tinged with Jacobin ideas, and William Smith O'Brien, whose brother later became Lord Inchiquin. They obtained popular support by reason of the widespread misery caused by the potato famine of "Black Forty-seven." Gavan Duffy, Dillon, Doheny, O'Gorman and Stephens were all minor conspirators. Mitchell and O'Brien were transported to Van Diemens Land, but the younger men mostly made good their escape and lived in exile in Paris and America, dreaming and plotting further rebellion.

Many of the ideas of the Young Ireland party have been revived by Sinn Fein ; and the rebellion of 1920 owes perhaps more inspiration to the writings of the rebels of '48 than to the greater rising of 1798.

CHAPTER IV

External Influences

The revolutionary fire of '98 had burnt down to but a few embers by 1840. There was little left of the craving for political independence in Republican form and barely vestiges of the old fierce spirit of social or world revolution which moved the Jacobins. The secret societies of Ireland were almost entirely relapsed into agrarianism—famine and emigration had weakened their coherence—and the spirit which animated the Radical and Chartist groups of malcontents in England was not a potent force in the sister island.

There was throughout this period a peculiar reaction of Irish secret societies on purely English affairs, and it came from the most unexpected quarter. The popular conception of a Chartist is a Radical, but it must not be forgotten that Tory agitators were just as active in inciting the proletariat as were the rival Whigs.

From 1828 the Orange Society had been under the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Cumberland, and in 1835 there were no less than 140,000 Orangemen in England, 40,000 being in London alone. These members were not Irish Orangemen, but purely English, and they were engaged in a plot which recalls the best traditions of the Palais

Royal and Philippe-Egalité. The purpose of the plot was to establish the Duke of Cumberland as King of England, on the plea that William IV was still insane and the Princess Victoria a woman and a minor.

The revolutionary mechanism staged by the Orangemen was in many ways similar to that of the Orleanist party of Philippe. Wild rumours were set about. Colonel William Blennerhasset Fairman, Deputy Grand Secretary of the Orange Society, was the ruling spirit of the organisation, and he conspired to such end that 381 loyal lodges were established in Great Britain. Another thirty were in the army, and branches were in many of the colonies.

The conspiracy prospered from 1828 to 1835, when it was exposed by Mr. Hume, M.P., and a Committee of Enquiry in the Commons was granted. As the conspiracy, however, implicated half the Tory peers, some of the Bishops and most of the Army, everything passed off quietly ; important witnesses vanished, and the Duke of Cumberland as Grand Master decreed the dissolution of the Orange Society in England without recourse to violence.

The episode as a whole is peculiar in that it shows that the English Tory party was ready at that time to resort to conspiracy and physical force to gain a political issue in the face of a Liberal Cabinet and against a wave of popular democratic spirit in the people. Revolutions, by whoever they may be started, have always one factor in common—their promoters have little regard for the real will, the well-being or inarticulate desires

of the people whose cause they claim to promote. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Orange Plot was mainly inspired, as it was certainly supported, by Tory Peers with Irish interests who feared the turbulent and demagogue-ridden Irish Catholic party and the effect of further concessions by the Whig Cabinet. A similar state of affairs produced the Ulster Covenant of 1913–14.

In contrast to this abortive revolution inspired from the highest sources was the Chartist movement of the masses which, though in the main an agitation for political reform as opposed to revolution, yet contained definitely revolutionary elements. Here again we can trace Irish influences and methods of agitation. O'Connell, although a violent demagogue and a quondam member of the London Working Men's Association, was an opponent of Chartism and Trades Unions, whose operations in Dublin he unhesitatingly condemned.

Feargus O'Connor, the leader of the Chartists in England, was an Irishman of purely revolutionary type whose social panacea voiced the everlasting land-hunger of the Irish as a remedy for the working-class woes of the English. He was an opponent of the factory system and believed in a Utopia of idealised small holders of land.

Bronterre O'Brien, a less well-known but more dangerous figure in the movement, believed wholeheartedly in the uncompromising Jacobinism of the French Revolution and had no faith in Parliamentary reform as against the physical violence of a complete social revolution. The ineffective march of the Chartists on London in 1848 and the

futile little rising in Ireland demonstrated how feeble the existing powers for revolution really were; for, though there was grave discontent in both countries, the bulk of the people believed in reform as opposed to revolution, and the doctrine of destruction had few convinced supporters.

A new phase in the history of Irish secret societies was now about to begin. The emancipation of the Catholics had been achieved by revolutionary rather than constitutional mechanisms and had brought its own particular trouble with it. The emancipated priesthood began to exert political control over its parishioners, and though agrarian crime continued, the priests used their influence to prevent the secret organisations being used for the purpose of political crime.

The old traditional combination of an open movement within the law reinforced by a secret organisation of criminal habits was revived in 1850, when the *Tenant Defence Society* was founded with the object of enforcing by agitation legislation which was to accomplish by legal means that expropriation of property that the combined genius of Whitefeet, Rockites, Tenyalts, Molly Maguires and all other Irish terrorist societies had failed to achieve by violence.

The Archbishop of Dublin at that time was Archbishop Cullen, who was familiar with the evils resulting from the effective use of secret societies. He had been in Rome when the successful Carbonarists under Mazzini and Garibaldi drove out the Pope; and the lesson had not been wasted. Cullen readily ascertained that the *Tenants' Rights Party* was merely a new disguise for the late

"Young Ireland" movement, whose ideals were both Republican and, within limits, anti-clerical.

There was no formal excommunication, but a quiet though firm ban was placed on the party. The effect was serious to the party, who dispatched an emissary to Rome to protest against the Archbishop's action. This agent, one Lucas, died while on his mission, and the general attitude of the bulk of the Irish Catholic priesthood continued hostile to both the secret societies and the open movements which had always brought war and suffering to the people of Ireland.

It is worthy of note that this attitude of the clergy (which was kept from 1850 to 1913) has coincided with the greatest period of Irish prosperity, and that despite the violent agitations of the secret societies, no big rebellion or political revolution with consequent heavy casualties occurred until it was relaxed for the period 1913–1921. The statistical table of Firing Outrages, that is to say, cases of firing at the person or into dwelling houses, shows that the average of outrage for the decade 1853–63 was less than a quarter of that for 1849 and remained at this low level until the outbreak of 1880–1882.

The power of the clergy was equal to suppressing the manifestations of revolution, but it was not equal to extirpating the seed despite the fact that education was entirely in their hands. The antipathous instinct of the Irish race was only latent, and once again the exiled participants of an earlier rising returned to set a younger generation afire.

The exiles of the Young Irishmen's rising of '48 slowly returned, bringing with them the latest

Continental ideas of revolution. The decade of 1850 marks the beginning of a new period of Irish secret organisation, noteworthy in that the centre of the conspiracy had transferred itself from Ireland to America and Paris, and that the priesthood were no longer the backers of the movement, but its opponents.

In 1858 a premature organisation, contrived to revive the tenets of the Young Irishmen of ten years earlier, was founded at Skibbereen by Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa and James Stephens. Both these men were later to attain notoriety in criminal annals, but the *Phœnix Society* was abortive. Attacked by the priests, it was suppressed; Stephens fled once more to Paris, and O'Donovan Rossa—later to become the Apostle of Dynamite—was convicted and served a short sentence in prison. In the meantime a new and important secret society was being created in America, the *Irish Republican Brotherhood* as it exists to-day.

In its earlier stages the name *Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood* was also used, and even its own founders were uncertain when the change of title from "Revolutionary" to "Republican" came about.* In any case, the same initials served for both, and for long the I.R.B. was only known by its popular title of "the Fenian Movement."

From its earliest days to the present time the I.R.B. has existed as a militant revolutionary

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* Jeremiah O'Leary's *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism*, Vol. I.

secret society, with the avowed object of separating Ireland from all connection with the British Empire and establishing an independent Republican Government.

The founders of this movement were Colonel John O'Mahoney and a barrister, Michael Doheny, both of whom had fled from Ireland for their share in the rising of 1848. Both these men took refuge in France, at that time a hot-bed of secret Carbonarist societies, such as the *Communistes Révolutionnaires*, the *Constitutional Society* with its 'Acting Company,' the *Seasons* and many others, and it was in Paris that these two fugitives lived with James Stephens, the real head and organiser of the Fenian movement, who was also a refugee.

In 1852 or 1853 O'Mahoney and Doheny went to America, and in 1854 a small group, calling itself the *Emmett Monument Association* began plotting. They even offered their assistance to the Russian Government during the Crimean War, but nothing came of it.

It is still obscure what revolutionary organisations already existed in America, but there were two main associations. First come the essentially Carbonarist lodges, imbued with the modified version of Jacobinism of the time, who owned allegiance to the *Alta Vendita* or European Grand Lodge of Carbonarism and who were engaged in the promotion of revolutions for the overthrow of Spanish Imperial and clerical power in the South and Central Americas. These were the revolutionary Juntas of Latin America.

The second group is the specifically Irish secret societies. The date of the foundation of these

Transatlantic lodges is not clear, for in the 1833 ritual of the St. Patrick's Boys the pass-words had clear reference to a kindred association in America, and it was not until 1836 that the executive of the St. Patrick's Fraternal Society allowed the Society to establish a branch in America,* where it was known as the *Knights of St. Patrick.* In 1838 this society again changed its name to the *Ancient Order of Hibernians* (*A.O.H.*), though this name was only gradually adopted by the divisions of the St. Patrick's Boys and other Ribbon men in Ireland.

The balance of probability points to the suggestion that there was then, as now, a criminal secret organisation of revolutionaries within the ordinary secret society. The nominal function of the A.O.H. was to safeguard the interests of the Irishmen in America, and none but Irishmen and Catholics could become members. To-day the infamous *Clan-na-Gael* represents the internal organisation of the A.O.H. of America.

In 1857 a messenger was sent from New York to James Stephens, then in Dublin, asking him to get up an organisation in Ireland on resources provided from the States; and it is clear that Stephens had already cut-and-dried plans in his mind as to how this was to be done. He stated his terms, which were agreed to, and on St. Patrick's Day, 1858, the I.R.B. movement was initiated by Stephens and Luby in Dublin.

The model secret society from which the founder

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* *Notes on the A.O.H.* (privately printed for the A.O.H., 1910. Copy in the Library at Dublin Castle).

drew his ideas and plan of organisation was undoubtedly the *Carbonari*. This society was the lineal descendant of the *Illuminati* of Weisshaupt, which had such a profound influence on the French Revolution and was protean in its manifestations, adopting many and various guises in its relentless warfare with all established authority. In point of historical antiquity the Carbonari Society long antedated that of the Illuminati, but it was captured by the latter between 1770 and 1790.

The *Alta Vendita* or Grand Lodge of the Order was not openly constituted till 1809, and even then the members of the Alta Vendita were controlled by a still more secret group whose existence was not even suspected.

The ritual of Carbonarism was symbolic and impressive, but was a typical reconstructive ritual of the early part of last century. In Italy the lower degrees, corresponding approximately to those of the Entered Apprentice and Master Mason, were not anti-Christian, but combined a good deal of Christian religious symbolism with their political object of attaining that " Liberty " which was the political and philosophical abstraction of the period.

To the higher degrees of tried Carbonari alone was the real object of the Society expounded. The candidates had to be true friends of Liberty and ready to fight all tyrannical Governments. They swore to devote their whole life to the principles of liberty, equality and progress, which are the soul of the public and secret acts of Carbonarism ; swore to fight to the death, and if false to their

oath to die a revolting and painful death which need not be here particularised.

The regalia in the Apprentice Degree were, curiously enough, three ribbons: black, blue and red, which may suggest the origin of the Irish Ribbon men's code.

The Carbonari ritual, oaths, etc., varied much, according to the country in which the Brotherhood was working. In the main, though, the principles —Liberty and Republicanism—never varied. The grand secret doctrine, the subversion of all authority, was known only to the inner circle. Great Britain fostered the organisation at Capua as a weapon against Napoleonic Imperialism, and it spread through from Italy to France and Germany, where it became identified half a century later with the *Totenbund*, in 1849.

The French Revolutionary period, 1770 to 1820, marks the first phase of political Carbonarism. The second, beginning from 1825, identified itself with the *Young Italy Society*, whose aims, the unification of Italy and the expulsion of the foreigner from Italian soil, were those of the Young Ireland party of '48.

The later inner circle of the Carbonari was known as the *Guelphic Knights*, which was organised in councils or circles of six members who were unknown to one another, and only communicated by one messenger, known as *The Visible*. Their supreme council sat at Bologna in about 1816. They had no written communications. Another offshoot was the *Centres*, who rose in Lombardy. They, too, had no written communications, and conversation about the business of the society

was only permitted between two members at a time. These recognised one another by passwords.

The basis of all these organisations was politically Carbonarism, but their method of attaining their objective was essentially military. They recruited in groups of ten—one member recruiting ten others—so mounting to "Hundreds" and "Thousands." Military exercises, drilling and arming for the fight for freedom, were all in their plan.

The Carbonari lodges took a variety of strange names and aspects in the French Revolution of '48, but there is no doubt that the whole network of little secret societies was governed by the leaders of the parent organisation. All Liberal and Radical groups were merged in the scheme, and Lafayette was one of the titular presidents. From 1830 to 1852, Henry Misley, an Anglo-Italian of Modena, was the link between the Italian Carbonari and revolutionary France. He was one of the leaders of the secret movement and was co-operating with Lord Palmerston, who, to a large extent, favoured the European revolution and who was himself a Freemason and hostile to the Bourbon Louis Philippe.

There is, as yet, no definite proof of direct affiliation between Carbonarism and any Irish society, but there are marked analogies, both in object and mechanism, and there is always the fact that any revolution in Europe has had an immediate echo in turbulent Ireland without the need of propaganda from the European source. During the period of exile in Paris, Stephens and

O'Mahoney had both made a close study of existing revolutionary methods.

Stephens applied to Ireland a mechanism of secret organisation, just as in our own time Arthur Griffiths adapted the political policy with which Hungary once fought for separation, to serve an Irish end. But the organising work of Stephens was but applied to the existing skeleton of some organisation already latent in Ireland, just as Doheny and O'Mahoney found in the States an undeveloped organisation ready to exalt them from the position of inconsiderable refugees to that of leaders of a movement.

America, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was full of political refugees, and the Republic had been hailed since the day of Lafayette as the promised liberator of a bound Europe. The Carbonari—as such—played little part in the affairs of the United States, but, in various guises, the doctrines of the society were rooted in Latin America, at that time under the scarlet and golden banner of Imperial Spain.

The Juntas of the Revolutionists may outwardly have owned slender connection with the Grand Lodges and Supreme Councils of Europe, but they were animated by the same impulses, energised from the same fierce centres, and paid homage to the great unknown European leaders. The Latin Americans, as a whole, were anti-dynastic and anti-Papal, though not, as were the extremists of France and Germany, anti-Christian or Atheist. They were Republican to the last degree, and withal they were, despite their common

Indian and Spanish stock, bitterly and sincerely and utterly illogically Nationalist.

Ireland was represented in this by who can say what sympathetic bonds. As a nation they were comprehensively Papal; the true Carbonaro or Republican can, at that period, have had little sympathy for such a reactionary race. Little known, and little liked, they seemed to have drawn no effective support from the powers that everywhere else were the propagandists and warriors of the revolutionary age. Perhaps Britain's support to Liberal movements in Europe outweighed any consideration the *Friends of Liberty* may have had of helping the Irish. Perhaps these acute philosophers were disinterested and had gauged the Irish incapacity for self-government at that time; but, in all probability, it was not only this, but the religious question. Neither Ireland nor Poland was helped by the Carbonari, and as late as 1864 the whole weight of the revolutionary societies, led by the Italian lodges, was thrown against any attempt to re-establish the independence of Poland. Petrucelli della Gatina declared to the Chamber at Turin that the Poles were still Roman Catholic and would, on their emancipation, offer to the Pope their blood, their swords and their fortunes.

A recent school of thought attributes the control of the network of revolutionary organisations to a combination of German and Jewish interests which formed the hidden power behind the order of the Illuminati and later exercised control over the *Alta Vendita* and the extremist socialist and communist organisations of to-day. This theory

is, however, not yet wholly established to a point capable of definite proof and must be left an open question.* Another school holds that the abstract principles held by the revolutionary are pathological, or rather psychological, arising from pathological causes. Certain it is that the exaltation of religious mysticism is tranmisssible, and there are those among us who recognise in the inverted mysticism of revolutionary fervour a sacramental Satanism which is, in its way, as potent and as inexplicable as the exaltation of the saints.

The year 1858 saw the introduction of the new Irish-American version of the I.R.B., a poison whose effects were and are to be lasting. The resources which were to come to Ireland were to come from Irish-Americans, and the motive which inspired the flow was far less love of Ireland than a searing hate of Britain. Unfortunately, it is a hatred which the British will never recognise and can never comprehend.

Stephens crossed to America at the end of 1858 and established, or rather re-organised, the existing Irish revolutionary body there on the same model as that of the I.R.B. in Ireland. A certain confusion still exists about the share of Stephens in the Phœnix Society of Skibbereen, but it seems clear that, though this had been formed by O'Donovan Rossa and Mortimer Moynihan as the *Phœnix National and Literary Society*, Stephens

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* *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, a book on which many of the charges that Jewish interests were behind the secret societies are founded, has since been exposed by *The Times* newspaper.

had on one of his organising tours in the spring of 1858 visited Skibbereen and sworn in the bulk of the society as members of his newly-formed I.R.B.

The disclosure of the Phœnix Society to the authorities by the eminently sensible Father John O'Sullivan in October of that year probably expedited Stephen's journey. The Phœnix leaders were not arrested until December 5th, 1858, and Stephens did not return from America to Dublin until the trouble had blown over.

CHAPTER V

The Development of the I.R.B. and the Fenians

Stephens began his organisation, according to his prepared scheme, on St. Patrick's Day, 1858. Essentially military in idea, it was established on the circle principle, probably because this was the simplest form of organisation for absorbing existing local clubs.

In the original plan a circle was, roughly, a regiment whose *Centre* or 'A' ranked as a colonel. The 'A' chose nine 'B's' or captains, who again chose nine 'C's' or sergeants, who each chose nine 'D's' or rank and file. Each complete circle, therefore, had an establishment of 100 members. Secrecy was ensured because the 'A' or Centre was only known to the 'B's,' while the 'C's' only knew their immediate 'B's,' and the rank and file 'D's' only their own 'C's.'

The original oath model was :—

> "I, A.B., do solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God, that I will do my utmost at every risk, while life lasts, to make Ireland an Independent Democratic Republic ; that I will yield implicit obedience, in all things not contrary to the laws of God, to the commands of my superior officers ; and that I shall preserve inviolable secrecy regarding all the transactions

of this secret society that may be confided to me. So help me God. Amen."

In 1859 this was altered to :—

"I, A.B., in the presence of Almighty God, do solemnly swear allegiance to the Irish Republic now virtually established; and that I will do my utmost, at every risk, while life lasts, to defend its independence and integrity; and finally that I will yield implicit obedience in all things, not contrary to the laws of God, to the commands of my superior officers. So help me God. Amen."

The organisation made rapid headway, but the weight of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy was surging against the movement, and in due course the Brotherhood was excommunicated: in 1861 no Fenian could get absolution. The basis for the ban placed by the Church on any secret oath-bound society is technically that no Catholic may take an oath of secrecy which binds him to keep the secrets of his society from his Father Confessor. In the case of some Catholic secret societies, such as the A.O.H., this is eluded by an arrangement by which members of the priesthood are members of the society and are thus supposed to be familiar with all its secrets.

Fenianism, being both secret and decidedly anti-clerical, was not only banned technically, but most effectively, and there was also another serious trouble which threatened it. The American Civil War was in progress and the supply of funds for the cause was, for a time, both intermittent and slender.

In 1863 propaganda by personal travel and

secret pamphlet was largely superseded by the starting of a newspaper, *The Irish People*, which was managed by the head Fenians, Stephens and Luby, and was edited by John O'Leary. The paper was seditious and provocative, and under cover of attacking the influence of the priesthood in politics, was markedly anti-clerical. This newspaper was financed by American money, and in America the movement was developing vigorously. In November, 1863, a grand National Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood met in Chicago and publicly admitted the object of the Society, that is to say, the separation of Ireland from the British Empire and its establishment as an independent Republic. It was also declared that the same programme was to be effected in Canada.

In the following year this annual Convention was held in Cincinnati, and a resolution was passed to the effect that the next convention would be held on Irish soil. The proceedings were semi-public, and the deluded Irish Americans subscribed liberally to the funds, which were reported to be in excess of a quarter of a million pounds.

The American Fenian Brotherhood was a separate organisation, distinct from the Irish Fenian Brotherhood or I.R.B., having its own leaders ; but both organisations were on the same lines and had their officers, both civil and military oaths, emblems, and passwords, funds and stores of arms. In America the Society was but semi-secret, making no mystery of its aims, its nightly drilling and all the prelude to an armed expedition. The attitude of the public and Government of the United States was not unfriendly to the Fenians,

for there had long been innate hostility among the Americans of the Northern States towards the British Empire. The British attitude during the Civil War, the Alabama incident and other contributory causes, were well worked up by the hostile Irish elements. The affair was progressing famously when, on September 14th, 1865, the Dublin authorities, who were thoroughly well-informed, raided the offices of *The Irish People* and arrested the staff.

James Stephens, the Irish "Head Centre," who had been living ostentatiously in a house near Dublin, was also arrested and confined with the others who were awaiting trial in Richmond Jail. From this prison he escaped through the nominal complicity of a warder, John Breslin, who was also a member of the I.R.B., and who later became prominent in Irish-American circles. Stephens alone of his associates was thus miraculously released, and walked through Dublin, taking boat to Scotland and, after a while, passing through London, reached safe asylum in Paris. His colleagues received and served various sentences of hard labour.

The collapse of the I.R.B. in Ireland wrecked the hopes of the Fenians in the United States, who suddenly turned to an examination of their own affairs, where a second surprise awaited them. The veteran Colonel John O'Mahoney was the American Head Centre, and the estimable old gentleman had wasted the funds with alarming prodigality; a committee was appointed to examine the affairs of the American Brotherhood, and next year it presented its report.

GREENWICH CENTRAL LIBRARY

From the *Official Report of the Investigating Committee of the Fenian Brotherhood of America* we gather the following tribute to Irish-American genius :—

> "After a careful examination of the affairs of the Brotherhood your committee finds, in almost every instance, the cause of Ireland made subservient to individual gain ; men who were lauded as patriots, sought every opportunity to plunder the treasury of the Brotherhood, but legalised their attacks by securing the endorsement of John O'Mahoney . . . . In John O'Mahoney's integrity the confidence of the Brotherhood was boundless, and the betrayal of that confidence, whether through incapacity or premeditation, is not a question for us to determine . . . . Sufficient that it has proved recreant to the trust . . . . Never in the history of the Irish people did they repose so much confidence in their leaders ; never before were they so basely deceived and treacherously dealt with. In fact, the Moffat Mansion* was not only an almshouse for pauper officials and hungry adventurers, but a general telegraph office for the Canadian authorities and Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister at Washington. These paid patriots and professional martyrs, not satisfied with emptying our treasury, connived at posting the English authorities in advance of our movements."

Stephens had received some twenty-five thousand pounds, little of which was spent in Ireland, and

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* Headquarters of the American Fenian Brotherhood.

in later years it was a matter of common knowledge that Stephens, besides being Head Centre, had also an agreement with the British Government, which threw a peculiar light on his immunity from arrest and his later escape from prison and leisurely retreat to France. At this period, though, 1866, he still retained the confidence of his dupes.

The councils of the Fenian Brotherhood in America were troubled, but they adhered to the programme of the Chicago Convention and decided to invade Canada.

On June 1st, 1866, some seven hundred Irish-Americans crossed the Niagara River into Canada. On the next day, a small force of Canadian Volunteers met them at Ridgeway, defeated them, and they fled back to the United States.

In the meantime, the organisation of the I.R.B. in Ireland had reconstituted itself under the direction of Stephens, who communicated with them from Paris. A general rising was promoted, which was to take place on Christmas Eve, 1866. A steady flow of mischievous Irish-Americans began to come over, ostensibly to visit the old country, actually to create trouble. Stephens was awaited to head the insurrection, but Christmas passed without his appearance and no rising took place.

The situation then became troublesome. Ireland was full of I.R.B. circles and imported Fenians waiting to begin, and many of the latter worthies were also kicking their heels in England. Stephens' discreet non-appearance left these latter stranded, and as their source of living was Fenianism, and their joy plotting, they conspired to seize Chester

Castle on the 11th February, 1867. The plot was more than a mere idea for a startling but futile coup, for Chester Castle was an armoury and it was later revealed that the idea was to seize the armoury, distribute its contents to parties of Irish from the big cities, and start an outrage campaign in all the big cities of Britain, paying particular care to incite the mobs to looting and arson.

During the 11th, Chester filled with groups of hopeful Hibernians, who walked about and looked at shop-windows in an objectless kind of way; but they found the Castle and the authorities prepared. That night they walked away without making an attack. The following day a Dublin contingent of Fenians, who had come over to partake, if not in the battle, at least in the spoil, were arrested at Liverpool as they came off the boat.

Stephens' failure to appear was resented by some of the leaders of the I.R.B.; a secession took place and one Colonel Kelly was elected leader in Stephens' place. He established a "Directory," and rose on the 5th March, 1867. The Government, as usual forewarned, but for once prepared, had no difficulty in suppressing the rising.

This had barely occurred when the steamer *Jacknell*, full of Fenian Irish-American ex-service men under the command of a Fenian 'General,' Massey, arrived late for the fray, to be made prisoners as soon as they landed. They were promptly re-exported to the United States.

'Colonel' Kelly and his assistant, 'Captain' Beasy, had, in accordance with the best Irish

revolutionary tradition, sought safety in flight; abandoning their followers they fled to England, where they were arrested at Manchester during the following September; an attempt to rescue them from a prison van led to the killing of a policeman who was inside, by an enthusiast who fired a pistol through the lock. For this murder the unimaginative English hanged three of the Fenians who took part in it. These three are known as the 'Manchester Martyrs' and hold high rank upon the gallows chronicle of Irish crime.

In December a further outrage took place in Great Britain, which was also connected with an attempt to release prisoners. Two members of the I.R.B., Burke and Casey, were confined in Clerkenwell Jail; their friends exploded a barrel of gunpowder outside the wall of the exercise-ground and the explosion killed twelve innocent people and wounded forty.

The events of '67 split both the American Fenians and the I.R.B. into factions and, for a while, detached the European from the American organisation. Soon there were no less than three 'Directories,' each with a 'Head Centre' in Ireland. There were thus bodies claiming supreme authority at Cork, at Dublin and in Connaught, as well as Stephens in Paris and the original Kelly Directory now established in London. This was still the most dangerous group, for it was definitely criminal and had joined hands with revolutionary democracy.

Kelly, it should be noted, was the inventor of the *Committee of Safety*, later known as the *Assassination Committee*, whose function was to

shoot people suspected of ' treason ' to the Brotherhood. The principle was simple. A man was chosen for the deed and he was accompanied by others who would shoot him if he failed to carry it out. The first of the ' official removals ' was in February, '66, and it had a terrific influence on the movement, for it reinforced its strength among the timid Irish rank and file, who put down all unexplained murders to the long arm of the infernal Brotherhood.

The work of the Kelly Directorate in London at this period is extremely obscure, but there is no doubt that it was in close touch with the members of the *Internationale*, which later came to a head as the notorious Commune of Paris, with the Marxists and with obscurer Anarchist groups. It was probably a natural gravitation of criminal to criminal, yet the personality of ' General ' Cluseret, a French adventurer who had been sent to Ireland by the Fenian Brotherhood, was not improbably a connecting link. He appears to have been a violent social revolutionary and was one of the leading malefactors of the Paris Commune. He had in earlier youth been a Garibaldian and was intimate with many secret societies besides the Irish organisations.

By 1868 both the I.R.B. and the disrupted Fenian Brotherhood seemed quiescent, but the storm was not yet over and a new phase was about to begin. In 1869 new influences in America and Paris succeeded in reforming the I.R.B. Directorate in London, and the organisation became not only a mainspring of revolutionary endeavour in Ireland, but a definite element in the complex

machinery of world-revolution. There had been founded in London on September 28th the society known as the *International Association of Working Men*, whose presiding genius was Karl Marx, author of *Das Kapital*. This association had little to do with working men, but represented or claimed to represent a general association embracing a wide variety of revolutionary social-democratic organisations. In March, 1865, all the secret associations of Europe and North America were merged in the *International Association of Working Men*. The *Marianni*, the *Frères de la République* of Lyons and Marseilles, the *Fenians* of Ireland, the innumerable secret societies of Russia and Poland, the remains of the *Carbonari*, joined up with the new Society.*

The degree of affiliation between the bulk of the Fenian movement and the programme of the leaders of the *Internationale* cannot be precisely determined, but there were Irish Republicans and social revolutionaries among the Irish—both working primarily to promote social revolution rather than the separation of Ireland from England.

In addition to Cluseret, the greater figure of the French geographer and revolutionist, Reclus, furnishes a connecting link, and there is no doubt that the leaders of the Irish Republican Brotherhood agreed with the doctrines of the *Internationale* in many particulars, especially adhering to the doctrine of a general expropriation of land, the communisation of the sequestered estates of the

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* Mrs. Nesta Webster, *World Revolution*, quoting from Louis Enault, *Paris brûle par la Commune*, 1871, p. 24.

Irish land-owners, and the general idea of the abolition of inheritance. These doctrines were accepted by the *Internationale* at the Basle Conference of 1869, and in December of the same year, the General Council of the *Internationale* which was established in London, addressed a message of sympathy and support to the Irish Republican Brotherhood.*

The astute brains among the social revolutionaries do not appear to have had any illusions about the Irish people ; indeed, they have exhibited vastly less sentiment about them than has even the most rigid British Tory. To the revolutionists the Irish have ever been worthless except for one thing, the utility of the Irish antinomial and antipathous instinct. Ireland, or rather the Irish, represent a weak spot in the solid armour of Britain, and the success of any scheme of world-revolution depends on upsetting that sheet-anchor of commerce and prosperity, the British Constitutional system.

This was clearly recognised by Marx in 1870 in the Instruction which he issued from the London General Council to the Congress of the *Internationale* in Geneva. He stated :—

(1) " England is the only country where a real Socialist revolution can be made ;
(2) The English people cannot make this revolution ;
(3) Foreigners must make it for them ;
(4) The foreign members must, therefore, retain their seats at the London Board ;†

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* Guillaume, *Documents de L' Internationale*, Vol. I, p. 251.
† There were few native British in the whole *Internationale*, and the so-called British elements were mainly Jews.

(5) The point to strike at first is Ireland, and in Ireland they are ready to begin their work."*

It is, at all events, clear that Marx and the leaders of the I.R.B. were in close touch, and that Marx knew, even if the mass of Irish dupes did not, that the Irish revolutionary dream of the I.R.B. and Fenian leaders was no merely nationalist rebellion, but was to be a social revolution.

The doctrines held by the *Internationale* group during the period 1868–88 were not over-clearly defined. Marx was the apostle of State Socialism and Collectivism, but an equally important party followed the creed of anarchy elaborated by Bakunin and his followers, though neither of these mutually incompatible schools of thought crystal lised out till later and both theories had then undoubted influence on Irish affairs.

The sympathy and support accorded to the nationalist Irish *Sinn Fein* rebellion of 1920–21 by all Internationalist and social revolutionary elements find their initial motive in the instructions laid down by Karl Marx fully fifty years ago.

William Hepworth Dixon, who, under the pseudonym of ' Onslow Yorke,' wrote the *Secret History of the Internationale* in 1871, quotes Dupont, assistant to Marx, as follows :—

"The position of the *Internationale* in face of the Irish Question is very clear. Our first care is to push the revolution in England. To this end we must strike the first blow in Ireland."

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* *The Socialist History of the Internationale*, by Onslow Yorke, p. 156.

" Here is the situation on New Year's Day last year, six months after the disestablishment of the Irish Church," adds Yorke. (*Op. cit.* p. 159.)

The function of the Fenian ' General ' Cluseret and his relation to the *Internationale* are not precisely clear, but he appears to have acted as a chief of the military rather than the civil side of the secret lodges. During his stay in England on his Fenian mission he paid particular attention to the problem of how London might be captured, held and burnt. He went to Woolwich, where he was received by I.R.B. circles as their military chief, and toured both dockyards and the workshops of the Arsenal. After the suppression of the Paris branch of the *Internationale* it was Cluseret who organised the workers as a secret communist revolutionary society. Speaking of this, Onslow Yorke closes his work as follows :—

> " Perhaps no plan for burning Paris had yet been contrived ; but Cluseret's letter leaves no doubt that months before the war with Russia gave the Communists a chance of opening their campaign against society in France instead of Ireland. The man who called himself a Fenian General, and studied how to break and burn the British dockyards, had resolved that, if he failed in his designs on Paris, Paris should be levelled to the ground." (*Op. cit.*, p. 166.)

It should be borne in mind that the revolutionists of all countries at this period had only developed the tactical side of their warfare in so far as it affected cities. Their slogan was " barricades and incendiarism," a tradition of street warfare which found belated expression in the Irish Rebellion of 1916.

CHAPTER VI

The Clan-na-gael and the Land League

In 1869 a new secret Irish-American organisation was formed, known as the *Clan-na-Gael*. It traces its origin back through a permanent secret society known as the *Knights of the Inner Circle*, which, in turn, descended from the *Knights of St. Patrick*, known as the *Ancient Order of Hibernians* to-day. It was originally a seceding circle (the *Brian Boru*) of the *United Irishmen*, an American society tracing back to 1798. The Clan is not entirely confined to Catholics, but also accepts other Irish, provided they admit to a belief in the existence of the Deity.

The first act of the Clan was to reorganise the I.R.B. in Great Britain and Ireland on a more compact and secret basis; this organisation took effect in 1869. In its early days the Clan drew some distinction between rebellion and murder, and was originally a purely patriotic organisation for the removal of British control of Ireland by force of arms, and it still retained many of the old Fenian ideas and leaders, as it had practically absorbed the remains of their organisation.

In essence the Clan was to be a reconstructed purified Fenian movement, not semi-secret, but entirely secret. Its first adventure was a second attempt at the invasion of Canada, conducted by

'General' John O'Neil, who had been the Fenian Head Centre in 1867. The expedition went over on April 26th, 1870, but the authorities had long been advised of its coming by 'Major' Henri Le Caron, a prominent Clansman who was really an Englishman and a secret service agent of the British Government; Le Caron actually took part in the invasion, which was easily and ignominiously defeated.

This crazy expedition brought a new division into the Irish-American secret societies. Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, Losmasnay and John Devoy, all old I.R.B. men, had been liberated from prison and exiled to the States early in the year. They resented this waste of good Irish-American money on purely American affairs and claimed that it should be devoted to those patriots who had actually "done something" for Ireland. Rossa then established a secret society known as *The Irish Confederation*, which represented Irish interests such as the I.R.B. of Ireland in America and was dominated by exiled Irish instead of by American-born Irishmen. By 1873 the Clan had swallowed up all other Irish secret societies with the exception of Rossa's, but had agreed to work, if not with the latter, at least without active hostility towards it. In addition, the Clan had adopted a conventional Masonic ritual, oaths, grips, hailing and distress signs, passwords and mysteries in general.

The original organiser of the Clan had called it the *United Brotherhood*, and in all its work a simple letter-cipher composed of the next letter in the alphabet after the one really meant, was utilised.

The secret name of the Clan being the *United Brotherhood*, it was therefore designated and spoken of as the ' V.C.' Ireland was known as ' Jsfmboe,' and so on. To this day the Clan speaks and writes of the I.R.B. as the S.C.

Admission to the Clan lodges or, as they were called, ' Camps ' or ' D's,' was by recommendation. The candidate was then balloted for and cross-examined as to his name, age, antecedents, etc. He had also to testify to his belief in the Deity. After this he was blindfolded and prepared in the prescribed manner, and, having been led into the lodge, was presented to the Guardians before the Vice-President's chair and was addressed by him in the following manner :—

" Animated by love, duty and patriotism, you have sought affiliation with us. We have deemed you worthy of our confidence and friendship. You are now within these secret walls. The men who summoned you have taken all the obligations of our Order and are endeavouring to fulfil its duties. These duties must be cheerfully complied with or not undertaken. We are Jsjtinfo (Irishmen) banded together for the purpose of freeing JSFMBOE (Ireland) and elevating the position of the J—— (Irish)race. The lamp of the bitter past plainly points our path, and we believe that the first step on the road to freedom is secrecy. Destitute of secrecy defeat will again cloud our brightest hopes . . . . Once a member of this Order, you must stand by its watchwords of Secrecy, Obedience and Love."

After ceremonial, the candidate was placed before the President, and a charge concluding with the following words was read to him :—

" . . . . With this assurance, and understanding, as you do, that the object of this organisation is the freedom of J—— (Ireland), will you submit yourself to our rules and regulations and take our obligation without mental reservation ? "

The Candidate then took the oaths, repeating the following phrases after the President :—

" I, ——, do solemnly and sincerely swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will labour while life is left to me to establish and defend a republican form of government in J—— (Ireland). That I will never reveal the secrets of this organisation to any person or persons not entitled to know them. That I will obey and comply with the constitution and laws of the V.C. (United Brotherhood, *i.e.*, Clan-na-Gael) and promptly and faithfully execute all constitutional orders coming to me from the proper authorities to the best of my ability. That I will foster a spirit of unity, nationality and brotherly love among the friends of J—— (Ireland). I furthermore swear that I do not belong to any other J—— (Irish) revolutionary society antagonistic to this organisation and that I will not become a member of such society while connected with the V.C. ; and finally I swear that I take this obligation without mental reservation and that any violation hereof is infamous and merits the severest punishment. So help me God." (Kisses the Book.)*

Up to 1881 the Clan-na-Gael was governed by an executive body, the ' F.C.', and had an annually-elected chairman. A Revolutionary Directory, the ' R.D.', consisted of seven members, three chosen by the Executive, three by the J.S.C. (the Irish Republican Brotherhood) and an odd man chosen by these six appointed members.

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* H. Le Caron, *Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service.*

Great secrecy shrouded the 'R.D.', and the names of members were only known to the delegates and the 'Senior Guardian' of each 'Camp' of the Clan.

These Lodges or 'Camps' were known in cipher as 'D's'; each had a number and an outward innocent name, such as the Emmet Literary Association. The essential precaution for the maintenance of secrecy was the rule that all documents, when read, had to be burnt before the Brotherhood, a rule also common to the I.R.B. of to-day.

In the meantime O'Donovan Rossa had begun a campaign in his newspaper, *The Irish World*, and had demanded subscriptions for a Skirmishing Fund, to be devoted to the commission of outrage in Ireland and England. Although his demand was only for $5,000, the fund for murder rose to $23,350 in twelve months. In 1877 the Clan took charge of this money jointly with Rossa.

During this period, while the secret societies were developing their resources in America, a new figure had appeared in Irish politics. The condition of the Irish tenantry was very bad and the aftermath of the famine had left Irish estates heavily encumbered with debt. The owners had raised rents which were not paid by the tenants, and this led to eviction, resistance and outrage. In 1877 Charles Stewart Parnell became the virtual leader of the Home Rule or Nationalist party of Ireland, and in the December of that year Michael Davitt, who had been serving a sentence of fifteen years' penal servitude for his share in the outrages of 1870, was released on ticket-of-leave.

Davitt's first action was to rejoin the I.R.B. and become a member of the Supreme Council. Six months later he journeyed to the United States, ostensibly to see members of his family, but actually charged with a definite mission. He was the suggester of a scheme whose inception lay with Parnell, which was later to be known as the ' New Departure.' This was in effect a system of merger or treaty between the open political movement of constitutional nationalism and the secret forces of the republican revolutionary societies, by which each was to work in its own way for the same end—the destruction of the Act of Union. Parnell hoped to achieve it by Home Rule, the extremists were pledged to a Republic.

Davitt was welcomed by many of the Clan, including John Devoy, J. J. Breslin (the ex-warder of Richmond Jail who connived at Stephens' release), J. J. O'Kelly, T. C. Luby, General Millen, Dr. W. Carroll, and other notorious characters. During his stay he worked out the policy which was later to be known as that of the *Land League*, and in 1879 he returned with Devoy, General Millen and Carroll, who were arranging for the supply of rifles and arms to members of the I.R.B., and surveying the general work of preparation for revolution.

In the main Davitt's journey to the U.S.A. served two purposes: it reconciled the Irish and Irish-American elements within the Clan, and converted the Clan from its belief in armed insurrection as the only radical solution of the Irish problem to a state of compromise in which it was willing to use its vast powers to assist not

only the physical-force party and the I.R.B., but the open political movement of the Irish Nationalists.

The influence of this agreement on Irish politics and crime was incalculable, for there were now three distinct but combined mechanisms of agitation to occupy the Irish people: Constitutional political agitation; agrarian agitation, outrage and boycotting; and lastly subterranean revolutionary ferment preparing for armed insurrection promoted under cover of the other two agitations. All three phases were actively supported by Clan-na-Gael funds and influence; sanction for the supply of money from the 'Skirmishing Fund' was granted on the grounds that the Fund had been collected by Rossa, in the words of Davitt, "to strike England anywhere where she could be hurt."

In October, 1878, the officers of the Clan-na-Gael had sent the following message to Parnell:—

"The Nationalists here will support you on the following conditions:—

"First:—Abandonment of the federal demand, and substitution of a general declaration in favour of self-government;

"Second:—Vigorous agitation of the land question on the basis of a peasant proprietary, while accepting concessions tending to abolish arbitrary eviction;

"Third:—Exclusion of sectarian issues from the platform;

"Fourth:—Irish members to vote together on all Imperial and home questions, adopt an agressive policy, and energetically resist coercive legislation;

"Fifth:—Advocacy of all struggling nationalities in the British Empire and elsewhere." *

* Parnell Report, pp. 8–9.

This was agreed to, and during the following year the organisation of the Land League slowly took shape, first in Mayo, then formally established as the *National Land League of Ireland* on October 21st, 1879, at Dublin.

No code of rules was put forward at this inaugural meeting, but resolutions were passed, electing Parnell as President of the League and instructing him to go to the United States " for the purpose of obtaining assistance from an exiled countryman and other sympathisers, for the objects for which this appeal is issued." A committee of sixty members was appointed, and of the seven committee-men elected to be officers of the League four were members of the I.R.B.*

On the 2nd January, 1880, Parnell arrived in the States and was received by the Clan-na-Gael, who arranged a series of vast meetings for him where he received a rapturous reception. His speeches were essentially revolutionary, as may be gathered from the two following extracts.

At Lynn, U.S., on the 31st January, 1880, in addressing a meeting he said :—

" Without waiting for agitation the English landlords reduce their rents. We attempt to improve the condition of affairs, and we are called communists and land-robbers. In France, the revolution swept away the landlords without a penny's compensation. Perhaps, if the Irish landlords do not heed the lesson, another revolution may sweep them away.

" They are a defenceless people in Ireland. The right to carry arms is denied, and that birthright of every freeman is punished in Ireland with imprisonment for two years. A large body of constabulary is employed with 30,000

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* Parnell Report, pp. 16–17.

soldiers, and the time may come when Ireland will have a chance. When she (England) is at war and beaten to her knees, the idea of the Irish Nationalists may be realised."*

And in Cincinnati, on the 20th February, 1880, he is reported as saying :—

"When we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation. The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner-stone of English misrule ; pull out that corner-stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment ; when we have undermined English misgovernment we have paved the way for Ireland to take her place amongst the nations of the earth, and let us not forget that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim.

"None of us, whether we are in America or Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."†

In March, 1880, Parnell returned to Ireland owing to the sudden dissolution of Parliament, but before his departure he founded the *Irish National Land League* of America.

The re-agitation of the Land Leaguers threw Ireland into a ferment. Agrarian crime increased by leaps and bounds, rents were not paid, landlords and their agents were murdered or shot at. The new Parliament under Gladstone succeeded even less than had its predecessor under Beaconsfield, and the Liberals were slowly being obliged to adopt firm measures. In May, Davitt returned to the United States again, to develop the American Land League and energise the Clan-na-Gael.

To his companion, Mr. John Dillon, belongs the

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* Parnell Report, pp. 20–21.

† *Ibidem.*

credit of having been the first to enunciate an ambition which even the Sinn Feiners of to-day have been unable to achieve. He stated :—

"It will be our duty, and we will set about it without delay, to disorganise and break up the Royal Irish Constabulary that for the past thirty years have stood at the back of the Irish landlords, bayonet in hand."

Conditions went from bad to worse, and in December 1880 legal action was taken against Parnell, Dillon, Sheridan, Boyton Duggan, T. D. Sullivan and others for conspiracy to induce tenants not to pay their rents and to deter them from doing so by threats of boycotting and intimidation, etc. After a twenty-one days' trial, the jury disagreed.

In March, 1881, a new Bill was introduced for coercing Ireland, *The Protection of Persons and Property Ireland Act,* giving power to apprehend suspected persons. Before the Bill became law the leading officials of the Land League, Egan, the treasurer, Parnell, Biggar, Dillon, J. J. O'Kelly, Londen and Harris fled to Paris, taking with them most of the books of the League. This flight took place almost simultaneously with the arrest of Michael Davitt on revocation of his ticket-of-leave.

The League was thus disorganised, but agitation continued as before. Speeches were moderated, but outrages increased. In October, Parnell, Sexton, Kelly and W. O'Brien were all arrested and imprisoned in Kilmainham jail. Thence they issued a manifesto advising all tenants to pay no rent. On the 18th October, the Government suppressed the Land League, but the remaining

books were removed by Campbell and Sheridan to London.

The League changed its name to the *Ladies' Land League*, a device which had long been prepared in anticipation of the Government suppressing the organisation. The money for agitation was duly sent from Paris, and, though the main leaders were in prison, agitation, outrage and violence continued unabated.

On the 2nd May, 1882, Parnell, having given certain undertakings to the Government to use the whole influence of his machine to put down outrage and calm the country, he and his colleagues were released. Foster, the Chief Secretary, resigned, and Lord Frederick Cavendish was appointed in his stead. Four days later, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke were murdered in Phœnix Park, May 6th, 1882, by a secret society known as the *Irish Invincibles*. It is, perhaps, a melancholy contemplation to note that the sturdy Victorian world of those times was more profoundly shocked by this cold-blooded murder than it has been by the far more terrible events of 1916 and 1919–21. Moral vision was clearer, and the people of that day still possessed perceptions that the great blood-bath of a world-war had not dulled. No policy that bore blood-guilt could be condoned, nor could there then be parley with those who had sanctioned murder.

The murder woke the British public, and the immediate answer was a Crimes Bill almost as powerful as the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act of to-day. Parnell and Davitt issued condemnations of the murder, but the Land League

was so discredited by the crime that it was converted into the *National League,* an organisation promptly captured by the secret societies.

The reaction from the crime checked outrage, and the mass of the Irish people again returned to the path of constitutional, rather than criminal, agitations.*

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* The effect of the Land League can be gauged from the following official figures of Firing Outrages :—

1877 ... 39	1880 ... 165	Land League Period.	1883 ... 56
1878 ... 30	1881 ... 272		1884 ... 44
1879 ... 63	1882 ... 256		

CHAPTER VII

The National League, The Clan-na-Gael, and Dynamite Outrages

The reaction against the agrarian agitation of the Land League produced by the Phœnix Park murders was sufficient to alienate the bulk of the people; but the I.R.B. and the Clan-na-Gael saw in the collapse of the open movement the assurance that secret revolutionary conspiracy alone could succeed.

The Land League had garnered into its net, not only the I.R.B., but the old agrarian and Catholic societies who had appeared as the executants of organised outrage under a new generic name of *Moonlighters*. These organisations were undoubtedly subsidised by the Land League, which was in turn the agent of the revolutionary societies in the United States.

Daniel O'Connell, *alias* Captain Moonlight, was a typical conspirator. At his trial on 23rd January, 1882, for an outrage in December, 1881, he turned informer and admitted that all the money for the organisation of outrages in the provinces came from Dublin. The oath he administered was as follows :—

"I swear to be true and faithful to the Irish Republic, to obey my Superiors, and to take up arms when required. Death to the traitor. So help me God."

He was a raid organiser and also took charge of all arms for outrages and those stolen during the raids. The Judge, in his summing-up, said of the oath :—" It was the same unsuppressed Fenian conspiracy."

The search for the authors of the Phœnix Park murders continued for some time before the authorities were certain enough of their proofs to carry out the arrest of men who had long been suspected. It became clear that the organisation of the *Irish Invincibles* was not a definite branch of the Land League, nor even a particular circle of the I.R.B., but was an amalgamation of extremists pledged to a campaign of murder, and had on its directorate prominent Land Leaguers who were also members of the I.R.B.

Neither Parnell nor Davitt was *proved* to be implicated in the *Invincible* crimes, but the Land League officials under them certainly were. The very daggers were bought with Land League money, were carried over to the murderers by a Land League official's wife, and kept in the Land League offices. From 1879 to 1883 the Land League drew £244,820, of which four-fifths came from America. Of this money, £100,000 has never been accounted for.

The Executive of the Irish Invincibles was joined by members of the I.R.B., but the two organisations were kept distinct. In Dublin nearly every Invincible was an I.R.B. man, but in the provinces the bulk of the members were the daring spirits among the Land Leaguers, that is to say, active Moonlighters and criminals.

The Invincibles conceived the idea of assassi-

nating all British officials in Ireland, and held themselves to be guerilla soldiers, a peculiar mental conception which still endures among certain Irishmen. Very little documentary record of the conspiracy exists, as all written orders or instructions were burnt when read.

The chief of the Invincibles was P. J. Tynan, always alluded to as ' No. 1.' His identity was for a long time secret, and his true character unsuspected. He was a member of the Queen's Westminster Volunteer Rifles, closely in touch with Government circles in England, and a frequent caller at the Irish Office. Byrne, Secretary of the Land League, Dr. Hamilton Williams and others, were high officials of the Invincible Executive.

The membership of the Irish Invincibles was limited to a nominal figure of 250, and through its secret affiliation with the I.R.B., the Moonlighters and other criminal organisations, it might have had more serious influence on Irish history, had its first exploits gone unpunished. Tynan, the leading assassin, claims for it a great deal more influence than it actually possessed, and claims a membership of many thousands. The society was, however, only founded in December, 1881, and not organised until the spring of 1882. The Phœnix Park murders were on May 6th, 1882, and two months later Daniel Curley, Edward McCaffrey, and Peter Doyle were arrested on suspicion, and after a period of detention were again released but kept under secret surveillance.

On January 13th, 1883, a surprise raid was made, and James Carey, Daniel Curley, Edward McCaffrey Peter Doyle, Thomas Martin, Joseph Hanlon,

Joseph Brady, Timothy Kelly, Robert Farell, John Dwyer, Henry Rowles, Daniel Delaney, Joseph Mullet, James Mullet, Peter Carey and William Moroney were arrested. These arrests were in part due to the admission of an Invincible, Patrick Delaney, who had been sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for an attempt to murder Judge Lawson in November, 1882.

On January 27th, 1883, Thomas Caffrey and John Fitzharris, a car driver known as " Skin-the-goat," were also arrested. The latter was the coachman of the murder gang. James Carey turned King's evidence, and a good deal of information was disclosed by Patrick Delaney and Fitzharris.

During the preliminary proceedings the complicity of Tynan, Walsh, Burne and P. J. Sheridan was disclosed, and true bills returned against them by the Grand Jury. Extradition was applied for. The trial of the arrested men was proceeded with, and Daniel Curley, Joseph Brady and Timothy Kelly were hanged. Joseph Mullet and Joseph Hanlon were sentenced to penal servitude for life, while Patrick Delaney, though sentenced to be hanged, was reprieved and his sentence commuted. " Skin-the-goat " Fitzharris was sentenced for conspiracy.

The Invincible's Committee, that is to say, the active or murdering branch, was found to consist of a committee of five—Daniel Curley, James Mullett, James Carey, Edward McCaffrey and James Curley. The real Directorate, consisting of more important men, was not fully known to the actual assassins.

The history of the Invincibles and the mentality

of their leader is exposed in a long book by P. J. Tynan, the leader himself, *The Irish National Invincibles and their Times*, who states :—

" This History cannot be too emphatic in stating that the Parnellism of that epoch and the Invincibles were one and the same in actual fact ; the policy of this active movement, its authority, its armament (such as it was) sprang from the organised ranks of " legal agitation."

" If the foul and villainous name of assassins is applicable to the manly and patriotic soldiers who " suppressed " the enemies' secretaries, the chiefs of the Castle conspirators whose official hands were red with the blood of the children massacred at Ballina the day before,* if this black name of degradation is applicable to these self-sacrificing Irishmen who slew the enemies' chieftains, how much more could it be used, and with thundering emphasis, to those among the very highest of the Provincialists (*i.e.*, Constitutional Nationalists), from out of whose ranks the Invincible organisation sprang into being ? " (P. 339.)

It is curious to note that the same claim to be recognised as Irish soldiers is made by members of the murder gangs in 1922. Tynan's book, though discursive and wearisome, is worth the attention of the criminologist or those interested in the psychology of fanaticism.

The informer, Carey, who had turned King's witness, had been promised his life and funds to go abroad. Steps were taken to safeguard his person, and it was arranged that he and his wife should be despatched to South Africa by different boats. Under the name of " Power " he embarked on the *Kinfauns Castle*, bound for Natal. On board he made the acquaintance of one Patrick O'Donnell, who transferred with " Power " to the *Melrose*, a boat going from Cape Town to Durban. On

*Lord Frederick Cavendish had only just arrived in Dublin.

board this boat Carey was murdered by O'Donnell. The event created a wide-spread sensation, and vast terrorist capital was made out of it by the Irish, " Remember Carey " becoming a slogan of terrible significance in criminal circles. Actually it is now known that O'Donnell killed Carey after a dispute over cards, without in the least knowing who he was. Considering the circumstances of the murder and the impossibility of O'Donnell escaping the consequences of his deed, there is little reason to believe in the tradition of successful vengeance by the *Invincibles*. O'Donnell was brought back to England and duly hanged for the deed.

The policy of direct assassination as distinct from agrarian murder or armed insurrection was instilled by the Invincibles and soon found adherents among the I.R.B. and members of the Clan-na-Gael. P. J. Tynan, who was responsible for the murder of the Maamtrasna family as well as the Phœnix Park affair, was also an apostle of dynamite, and from the year 1882 the bomb makes its appearance as an adjunct to Irish secret societies. Under the term " inaugurating scientific warfare," dynamite outrages became very popular, and the essence of the new phase was that the " warfare " was to be carried on in the enemy's country.

The Clan-na-Gael had long meditated outrage in England. Cluseret had reported on its possibilities. Anarchists all over the world were dreaming of infernal machines, and dynamite seemed a far better device than the petroleum of the Paris Commune. The Clan journal, *The Irish World*, which was edited by Patrick Ford and had

organised Rossa's "Skirmishing Fund," had always advocated violence and was soon to be notorious as the "Dynamite Organ." It had been liberally distributed throughout Ireland by the Land League officials, and as early as the 28th August, 1880, published the following as a leading article :—

"Five years ago, O'Donovan Rossa, through the columns of this paper, made known to the Irish people the idea of skirmishing . . . . He did not himself write the address that was published. Rossa called for $5,000. The first notion seemed to rise no higher than the rescue of a few Fenian prisoners then held in English gaols. He wanted badly to 'knock a feather out of England's cap.' That sort of theatrical work did not satisfy us. Nor did it commend itself to some others, either. Rossa then said he was willing to burn some shipping in Liverpool. 'Why not burn down London and the principal cities of England?' asked one of the two whom Rossa in the beginning associated with in the movement. Rossa said he was in favour of anything. The question of loss of life was raised. 'Yes,' said he who had put forward the idea, 'Yes, it is war, and in all wars life must be lost, but in my opinion the loss of life under such circumstances would not be one-tenth that recorded in the least of the smallest battles between the South and the North! Some one suggested that plenty of thieves and burglars in London could be got to do this job. Here he interposed, 'Why should you ask others to do what you yourself deem wrong? After all, would it not be yourself that would be committing the sin? Gentlemen, if you cannot go into this thing with a good conscience you ought not to entertain the notion at all.'"

"Here now two questions presented themselves: (1) Was the thing feasible? (2) If feasible, what would be the probable result?" *

"That the idea could be carried into execution, and that London could be laid in ashes in 24 hours, was to us self-evident. England could be invaded by a small and resolute band of men—say ten or a dozen, when a force of a

* Report, pp. 59, 60.

thousand times this number coming with ships and artillery, and banners flying, could not effect a landing. Spaniards in the days of the 'Invincible Armada' and Zulus to-day, could not do what English-speaking Irishmen can accomplish. Language, skin colour, dress, general manners, are all in favour of the Irish. Then, tens of thousands of Irishmen, from long residence in the country, know England's cities well. Our Irish Skirmishers would be well disguised. They would enter London unknown and unnoticed. When the night for action came—the night that the wind was blowing strong—this little band would deploy, each man setting about his own allotted task ; and no man, save the captain of the band alone, knowing what any other man was to do, and, at the same instant 'strike with lightning' the enemy of their land and race . . . . In two hours from the word of command, London would be in flames shooting up to Heaven in 50 different places. Whilst this would be going on, the men could be still at work. The blazing spectacle would attract all eyes, and leave the skirmishers to operate with impunity in the darkness . . . . Of the feasibility of the thing we are perfectly satisfied. What would be the probable result of all this ?

"Destroy London and you destroy her credit. Lay London in ashes and down go her banks, her insurance companies, and her prestige . . . . What then ? Would not Englishmen play at this game too ? Might not Dublin, Cork, Belfast and Galway share the fate of London ? Possibly, but not likely. But if so, then lay Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield likewise in ashes. The four English cities are worth more than the four Irish cities. What then ? Then the flag of the Revolution would appear in England . . . . Ireland would be England's regenerator as well as her own emancipator ; and over the blackened ruins, the English Republic and the Irish Republic, forgetting and forgiving the past, would sign a treaty of perpetual peace . . . .

"Rossa at the time was a member of the Clan-na-Gael. He was likewise Head Centre of the Fenian organisation. Some of the officers of these two societies evidently were afraid that Rossa might precipitate matters by blowing up the British Empire before they had got ready, and thereby deprive them of the glory ; and they begged him to be

cautious. He was cautious. For a whole year he was laying his plans, profound and deep, and then, when the idea was fully developed, he came into this office with a man and unfolded a map of operations. . . . ." *

It must also be clearly borne in mind that the Clan-na-Gael was now far advanced beyond the original ideas of its creators, and was not only Irish Nationalist, but *Red* Republican in the strictest sense. In April, 1880, it issued the following circular to its officers and members :—

" . . . . The old is passing away, and the new life is at hand, and whether the change is being made through the terrible agencies of the dynamite of the nihilists of Russia, or the pistol-shot of the socialist of Germany, or the march of the Republic in France, or the demand for the land in England, Scotland and Ireland, it is as certain as the sun in the heavens that a great revolution is being wrought and that aristocracy and feudalism must give way to democracy and the distribution of the soil among the people . . . . God speed the mark. It was said of Joseph that he was a growing son. May it be said of this movement that it is a growing movement, and the tree which was planted by Davitt in the soil of Mayo in April last may spread its branches wherever an Jsjtinbo (Irishman) breathes, or the heart of a humanitarian beats responsive to the cries of the people for a larger and better life." †

In the meantime an open Irish movement had been evolving in the States, and a great Irish Convention was held at Chicago in November, 1881, where all kinds of Irish associations were to be represented by delegates who would be addressed on the subject of the Land League. By a clever political manœuvre the Clan secured the office of Chairman to one of its members, the Rev.

* Report, p. 61.
† Report, p. 102.

George Betts, and as he had the right of appointment of all members of committees, they were enabled to nominate a Clan-na-Gael majority and force Clan views on the whole body of the Convention.

In 1882 the Clan, which had for long controlled the secret organisation in America, now also controlled all the various open Irish societies and associations which had been represented at the Convention. The mechanism of control was simple —the whole influence of the Clan was exerted to secure to their members a preponderant representation as office-holders in these associations, and it soon became recognised that membership of the Clan was an indispensable preliminary to advancement in local Irish affairs.

Davitt, who went to Paris to see Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, who had been connected with the Invincibles after the Phœnix Park murders, visited America in '82, returning again to Paris, but not until the following year did Egan visit America, presenting himself to Alexander Sullivan, the President of the Clan, early in March, 1883. Within a week or two of his arrival the latter issued a circular to Senior Guardians of the various camps, asking for a list of " men best fitted for private work of a confidential and dangerous nature "—in other words, dynamite.

The annual Clan Convention for 1883 was called at Philadelphia for April 25th, and there were held on the same date two other distinct conventions, the Irish Land League Convention and the Irish-American National Convention. The Clan arranged to abolish the Land League of America, which now

became known as the *Irish National League*, and included all benevolent, temperance, military, literary, social, patriotic and musical societies represented at the Convention, who, though continuing their own special work under their own name, were designated Branch No. — of the National League. Alexander Sullivan, President of the Clan, was President of the *National League*, Patrick Egan and other members of the Clan were members of its executive committee.

In the meantime the emissaries of the Clan who had been selected for dynamite work had reached England, and a series of dynamite outrages took place in London, and a laboratory for the manufacture of the explosive was discovered at Ladywood, near Birmingham. Losmasnay, the old colleague of Devoy, was supposed to have perished in the attempt to destroy London Bridge. The Clan, however, left his family in want, and this neglect of the dependents of "martyrs" is still typical of the Irish organisations.

On the 5th of May, 1883, the Executive Body of the Clan-na-Gael issued a circular to its members, prescribing rules for the "perfect security of the interests of the organisation," as follows :—

HEADQUARTERS, F.C., V.C.
5th May, 1883.

For the more perfect security of the interests of the organisation the following rules are published, and it is made the duty of S.G.'s (Senior Guardians), officers, and members of D's (camps) to see that they are rightly enforced :—

1. Hereafter no member shall by interview or in any manner appear in the public press, or speak or write to anyone not a member, of any matter,

person or event, engaged in or arrested for Jsjti (Irish) revolutionary operations.

2. S.G.'s shall in their sound discretion, or by direction of F.C., have power to publish information calculated to deceive the enemy.
3. D's may, when it is deemed prudent, change their present names and locations for others less suspicious, without attracting public attention to the change.
4. No person who is not a member for at least three years and whose antecedents, prudence and courage is (*sic*) not fully known, shall be accepted or sent forward for any work of a revolutionary character.
5. In localities favourable to the work, D's shall institute schools for the manufacture of explosives and other warfare.
6. D's shall procure, as far as possible, the names, photographs and residences of detectives, and keep a list of the same.
7. All books and papers, when the same cannot be satisfactorily secured, must be destroyed or cancelled.
8. It is made the duty of every D to utilise every available method of raising funds for the Special Fund by picnics, balls, parties and fairs, and contributions from outside confidential sources."

Fraternally,

THE F.C. (Executive Body).*

At the end of 1883 the Clan became divided into two branches, the one retaining the old name of the V.C. or United Brotherhood, the other and the larger body, under the presidency of Alexander Sullivan, adopting the initials U.S., and the government of this branch was reduced to three, known as the 'Triangle.'†

The dynamite outrages in England and the

* Report, p. 112.

† Report, pp. 113, 114.

ceaseless political agitation of Parnell's followers did not greatly affect the Irish situation in Ireland. The Coercion Act was still on the books, but its provisions were seldom made use of, and for a while it seemed as if unrest had spent its force. Parnell pursued his Home Rule agitation, but without insistence on its agrarian side. In the meantime, funds for the payment of Irish members of the Nationalist or Home Rule party were contributed from the Clan resources, and the Irish Parliamentary party, who had succeeded in converting Mr. Gladstone to a belief in their views, expected Home Rule to be granted by the British Government when Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill in 1886.

It is, in view of modern happenings, well worth while recapitulating the Clan-na-Gael circular, issued on December 18th, 1885, in anticipation of this :—

"The achievement of a National Parliament gives us a footing upon Irish soil; it gives us the agencies and instrumentalities of a Government *de facto* at the very commencement of the Irish struggle. It places the government of the land in the hands of our friends and brothers. It removes the Castle's rings, and gives us what we may well express as the plant of an armed revolution.

"From that standpoint the restoration of Parliament is part of our programme. When this is attained, if agitation will go no further, we will still go on with our forces unimpaired and strengthened. We therefore deem it advisable that you secure the election of as many delegates as is practicable or possible to the Convention of the Irish National League to be held in Chicago." *

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* Report, pp. 116, 117.

This circular expresses the position of the revolutionists of 1885 and also that of their descendants in the self-same societies to-day. For them there is to be no half-way house in the matter of Irish self-government until the full Republican programme is ceded. They would welcome the achievement of National Government only as a prelude to further organisation and eventual armed revolution. The members of the Dail Eireann have been financed by American funds exactly in the same way as their Parnellite predecessors, who received £7,556 in 1886 and £10,500 in 1887.

The defeat of the Gladstone-Parnellite Home Rule Bill by the secession of many of Mr. Gladstone's followers was a heavy blow to the political movement. Outrage again began to mount up and the National League evolved a system known as the " Plan of Campaign," which was to encourage the tenants to pay no rent at all to the landlords. In 1887 a Crimes Act was passed, and the suppression of the National League proclaimed throughout parts of the South and West of Ireland.

In 1887 *The Times* newspaper charged Parnell with having incited persons to commit crimes, and published a series of articles on " Parnellism and Crime." *The Times* action was largely based on certain letters which were later proved to be forgeries, and the case brought against the newspaper for libel by Parnell was decided in his favour. The whole of the Home Rule party was, however, so compromised by the articles that a Royal Commission of Enquiry was appointed.

The findings of the Commission were formulated under various heads, and on the evidence produced personal guilt was not brought home to Parnell, and the Home Rule party as a whole could not be found guilty of a conspiracy to achieve the independence of Ireland as a separate nation. The findings and the evidence, however, were such as to discredit effectively many individual members of the Home Rule party, which was then divided into Parnellites and anti-Parnellites. In 1890 disclosures as to his personal moral character were made, and Parnell, who had long been attacked by the Irish Hierarchy, was thrown over by Mr. Gladstone and rejected as a leader by his own party. In 1891 he died.

The record of firing outrages for the period shows graphically the state of the country during his agitation :—

1881	272	Land League.	1886	135	National League's Plan of Campaign.
,, 82	256		,, 87	120	
,, 83	56		,, 88	103	
,, 84	44		,, 89	75	
,, 85	82		,, 90	85	
			,, 91	54	

CHAPTER VIII

The Incubation Period

The close of the era of Parnell marked a phase in the decline of the power of the secret societies. The full weight of the Irish Catholic Church was thrown against them and the Physical Force party was everywhere discredited. The violent political agitation which had been the main source of their obtaining recruits had died down, and from 1894 to 1897 the country was practically free from any open or secret working organisation with a coherent policy of outrage. The unseen members of the societies had, however, decided not to relinquish their aim, but to initiate deliberately an educative movement designed to breed revolutionaries in the coming generation.

The I.R.B. became for a period not so much an armed revolutionary and assassination society as a secret propagandist and controlling organisation stealthily preparing for a revolution to come. It was its deliberate aim to perpetuate hatred and rancour, to keep alive the memory of long past and long remedied evils, and to inculcate treason and disloyalty in the growing youth of its native land.

We have seen in a previous chapter how the American Clan-na-Gael had concentrated all Irish organisations, however innocuous, in the body of the National League, and had, by controlling the

Committee of the League by its own members, thereby possessed itself not only of a vast field from which to draw funds and recruits, but of the whole co-ordinated political power of the Irish organisations in America. The process developed by the I.R.B. in Ireland was analogous; through its members they were represented on the Committees and Councils of practically every organisation which, in the opinion of its leaders, could be of use to it. The identity of the I.R.B. men was always a secret.

The secret power of the Brotherhood was brought to bear on all questions of appointment to positions and offices in various open associations, and it was its influence and corruption which achieved those mysterious appointments to position of persons singularly devoid of all merit, which were, and are, a marked feature of Irish life.

The functions of the I.R.B. ever since its inception had been divided into two distinct elements, Civil and Military, the Supreme Council having attached to it a " Military Council " which was not permitted to interfere with the decisions of the Supreme Council on matters of policy. The regulations of the I.R.B. at this time are given in detail in *Appendix* J.

The function of the Vigilance Committee of the I.R.B.* was, and still is, one of the most dreadful features of the organisation. In practice it meant that, when a sentence of death had been passed on any person who had fallen under the ban of the organisation, the selected assassin or assassins were

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* See Rules 40–49 in *Appendix J.*

followed to the scene where the crime was to be committed by two "Vigilance" members whose orders were, on pain of death themselves, to see that the assassin carried out the orders given to him, and to kill him themselves if he failed to do his duty through default.

Although no longer included in the constitution of the I.R.B., these rules still form part of its mechanism and are in operation.

In so far as the activist military policy of the I.R.B. was concerned, the period from 1893 to 1912 was practically negative; the arms stores dwindled and grew obsolete, the supply of money from America was only sufficient to keep the organisation alive and insufficient for the purchase of arms, and the organisation, in so far as its military side was concerned, was disorganised and dormant.

During the South African War it flickered up and engaged in sporadic anti-recruiting activities, but was again denounced by the clergy and had little influence. The older men were played out, and the younger generation was not ready to enter the society, which had, however, obtained control of excellent organisations to serve as incubators—the notorious Gaelic Athletic Association, and the Gaelic League, to which we shall refer again later.

The I.R.B. had always held that membership of any sectarian secret society, such as the A.O.H., or the Orange Society, was incompatible with membership of the I.R.B.

The Orange Society was, of course, absolutely loyal and violently opposed to the subversive

doctrines held by the I.R.B.; but the A.O.H. represented an element which was capable of capture and conversion. It represented an organisation of Catholic Nationalists pledged to the support of the Nationalist Political party and was in point of fact the main engine of political jobbery in many parts of the country. In many ways it was an obstacle to the influence of the I.R.B., for it was a secret society on which the Catholic Hierarchy smiled amiably, and at this time it was not a seditious factor or active in a political-criminal sense, but served as a more or less harmless friendly society and as a political secret society striving ineptly to become an efficient counterpoise to the political energies of the Orange Lodges in the north. It was, however, always implicated in agrarian outrage. It also outnumbered the I.R.B. in adherents, for in 1901 these had sunk to 27,317 all told, of whom only 8,690 were in good standing and paid their dues. In 1881 the figures had been 31,000 in Ireland, 4,500 in England, and 1,500 in Scotland.

The Irish National Parliamentary party had its internal factions, but in the main it stood as a solid body, out to achieve its ends by constitutional methods. The revolutionary element, therefore, found no active political organisation which could act as an external cover for their actions, and in addition, they found the A.O.H. a powerful hostile influence, both to their recruiting and to their dominance of open Irish societies of innocent character. The A.O.H. further enjoyed the countenance of the Church and included among its

supporters a few of the better class Irish bourgeoisie, who politically adhered to the Home Rule party.

It may perhaps be well to remind the reader at this juncture that the Irish nation, though vociferous, is not vast in numbers. The population of the whole of Ireland is less than that of London, and " the vast body of Irish-Americans " certainly does not number more than twenty millions even when a most lavish allowance for all of Irish descent is made. Americans of Irish descent who succeed in rising above the lower classes usually suppress their Irish origin, and the bulk of Irish-Americans are proletarian types like the Central European immigrants. The better class of the community in Ireland, comprising the landowners, the leading commercial and professional classes, was at this time almost entirely Unionist, and the whole of ' local politics ' was in the hands of the lower middle classes, who, with their following of proletarians were, so far as the South and West of Ireland were concerned, almost wholly Nationalist.

The lines of political cleavage thus followed clearly marked lines of social division. The political power of the Irish Unionists was, however, not to be measured by their representation of Unionist M.P.'s but rather by the powerful influence of Irish peers and their relations among English peers in the councils of the British Unionist party. A century of agitations and conflicts had been directed at the successive governments of Ireland, *but it had not been and has not yet been clearly recognised that these assaults*

were directed quite as much at the whole system of constitutional government as at the removal of an irksome rule. The identity of the dream of rebellion with the fact of revolution was not clearly perceived.

At this time there was a false peace in Ireland, a corrupt and slothful political party represented the people, the country enjoyed a considerable share of prosperity and the land waxed fat. New elements were to transform the situation, and the work to be done was to be achieved by the rising generation, the sons of the old Fenians of the 'seventies.

Many seemingly contradictory elements have contributed their influence toward the Irish Revolution. The most important of these have been the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic League, the Irish Socialist Republican party and the Sinn Fein party, in all of which the interests of the I.R.B. have been well served and ably represented. The Gaelic League was to raise passionate if perverted national enthusiasm ; the Gaelic Athletic League was to organise that fervour into national training as a prelude to national military training ; the Irish Social Republican party was to arouse class consciousness in the workers of the cities and the mass of " unskilled " unorganised labour of the country-side ; and the Sinn Fein party was fated to dethrone the corrupt Nationalist Parliamentary party and to act as the new political cover for the old renascent ambitions. Such was the battery of destruction—National consciousness, the nucleus of the organisation of the youth of the country, inspired class con-

sciousness and unrest, a disintegrative propaganda and a policy.

What more was needed but arms and funds, both of which were eventually to be supplied ?

It is not to be credited that the leaders of the secret societies were gifted with such political foresight that they could foresee the march of events, and all students will admit that external circumstances such as the Ulster Covenant and the European War rather than calculated measures were the deciding factors ; it is, however, undeniable that they not only exerted the whole of their occult influence to assist the various elements of organisation which were to serve their purpose, but that the leaders never relaxed their grip on the situation, moulded and controlled the secret mechanism, and were wise enough to push the younger generation to power. In all that time only the I.R.B., and behind it the ceaselessly active Clan, were really awake to the march of events and the terrible destinies that were shaping. The future will prove that even the twin societies did not see the relentless and yet unperformed last act of the drama.

The *Gaelic League* was founded in 1893 out of the wreckage of a previous movement of kindred nature which had failed. The promoters of the Gaelic League were not conscious revolutionists, but well-meaning folk actuated by a desire to preserve that rather useless and obsolete article, the Irish tongue. The founders were Father Eugene O'Growney, the Professor of Irish at Maynooth, and the President was Dr. Douglas Hyde. The League was non-political, non-sectarian, literary

and intellectual. Its objects were :—(1) The preservation of Irish as the national language of Ireland and the extension of it as a spoken tongue ; (2) The study and publication of existing Irish literature, and the cultivation of a modern literature in Irish.

The Irish language had ceased generally to be spoken by the people during the early part of the nineteenth century. It had not been in any way repressed, but had expired as a natural consequence of the fact that all education in Ireland was necessarily in the English tongue. Here and there in the west can be found groups of natives and islanders from the Atlantic coast who still speak Irish and among whom English is little used. It was partly for this reason—its use in the confessional, as well as for the study of early Irish MSS.—that Irish continued to be studied at Maynooth.

The vogue of the Gaelic League soon expanded, and its original objects soon became rather obscured by an accretion of other ideas, many of them rather ludicrous. The true Gaelic Leaguer had, in addition to trying to speak and read Irish, to wear Irish clothes—some even going to the length of a saffron-coloured kilt—to undergo the palate-destroying process of smoking Irish tobacco, and, in fine, to become a devotee to the blind acceptance of the dogma that any given thing of Irish origin was superior to any given thing of English or other origin—not because it was better or as good, but *because it was Irish.* In short it became not simply an innocuous society with a liking for folk-lore and a dead language, but a cult of hysterical nationalism.

In the main, unconsciously, the Gaelic League did a great deal of harm, for it was armoured with the twice-proof steel of sentimentality, and no one realised that one generation of its work was going to undo the civilising progress of two or three generations of popular education. The Gaelic League woke up a force that has never led to happiness in the world. It began to teach the Irish what the Irish, in common with the Zulus, the Prussians and other races have been only too anxious to believe—it taught them an entirely false and reactionary doctrine of *racial superiority*.

The Irish race, or rather that agglomeration of tribes known as the Irish race, has a history which is one long record of super-imposed conquests of the land of Ireland by successive superior races; and the very intensity of their ceaseless cry for freedom is the measure of their unconscious admission of their subjugation. The gulf between British and Irish had been largely bridged by the progress of education and the wise, if belated, administration of the latter end of the nineteenth century. Britain, as a whole, had been educated into accepting the Irish as equals, and, indeed, treated them rather as the spoilt children of the Empire. The tragedy of the Gaelic League was that it resuscitated not only the worthy things that were buried in a dead past, but disentombed and resurrected national hatreds and revivified old grievances which had passed into limbo.

The peculiar psychology of the Irish enables them to derive intense emotional excitement from a recital of their historic griefs and woes, and they are capable of working themselves up into a

frenzy over forgotten events and causes. The Briton is incapable of emotion over the Wars of the Roses or the Great Rebellion, but kindred parallel events in Irish history still bring forth emotional response in the Irish Celt. There is probably no people in the world who live so much in the past as do the Irish, and there is probably no people in the world for whom such a mental attitude is so dangerous.

The Gaelic League spread its many activities and enthusiasms over the country and was fostered by many of the best interests in Ireland, who saw in it not perhaps so much the germ of national awakening as a formative influence which it hoped would give shape to that mythical native Irish intellectual culture which is one of the outstanding features of Irish tradition.

The disintegrating element of revolution was, however, embodied in the younger members, the extravagant cult of Irishism was psychologically dependent on an equally extravagant hatred of Englishism, and the consequences were inevitable.

In 1903 we find Arthur Griffiths on the Industrial Committee, and Patrick H. Pearse, perhaps the greatest of the revolutionaries of the future, who had been for three years secretary of the League, becoming editor of its journal. These two did much to divert the Gaelic League from its original purpose and transmute it into the powerful organisation of revolutionary race-consciousness which it became.

The *Gaelic Athletic Association* was an organisation whose association with disintegrative policy had been manifest since its initiation. It was founded

in 1884 by Parnell, Michael Cusack and Michael Davitt. It was nominally an association for the preservation and cultivation of national games and pastimes. It was also nominally non-political and non-sectarian. In actual point of fact the true function of the G.A.A. was to stimulate the national anti-British spirit. All English games, such as cricket, hockey, rugby football, etc., were barred. Even as early as 1904 a rule barred police, soldiers, sailors of the Royal Navy, militia men or Constabulary, army and navy pensioners, from being allowed to play under G.A.A. laws. Even police and military bands were barred, and G.A.A. licensed handicappers were forbidden to officiate at Police and Military sports.

The great G.A.A. game is ' hurling,' a primitive kind of hockey, but a special kind of football and handball were also admitted, as were athletics as distinct from games. The underlying idea was the physical fitness of the youth of the nation as a preparation for achieving political independence by physical force methods ; thus the G.A.A. has always been dominated by the spirit of the Clan-na-Gael, rather than that of the Gaelic League, with which it had no direct connection and little more than a sympathetic interest.

In 1910 we find Austin Stack on the committee, while here and there crop up the names of men who are later prominent in sedition and active rebellion. The Association has never been under the patronage of reputable people and has always borne an invidious reputation. In athletics its activities were principally remarkable for the savagery of the games played and the peculiar licence of the

rules of play drawn up to cover them ; in politics the young braves have shown the same delight in violence and contempt of laws.

The *Irish Socialist Republican Party* was the creation of James Conolly, who was later to be executed for his share in the rebellion of 1916. It was founded in 1896 and the objects of the party were set forth as follows :—

" The establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic based upon the public ownership by the people of Ireland of the land and instruments of production, distribution and exchange. Agriculture to be administered as a public function, under boards of management elected by the agricultural population and responsible to them and to the nation at large. All other forms of labour necessary to the well-being of the community to be conducted on the same principles."

The conception of the party was in the main Collectivist rather than Communist, but later developments show a decided drift away from Marxism towards Communism. Though numerically small, the I.S.R.P. achieved at once a very important thing. It showed all parties that it was perfectly safe to preach sedition openly under the lenient British administration of those days. Conolly himself wrote of this :—

" The thought of revolution was the exclusive possession of the few remnants of the secret societies of a past generation and was never mentioned by them except with heads closely together and eyes fearfully glancing round ; the socialists broke through this ridiculous secrecy, and in hundreds of speeches in the most public places of the Metropolis, as well as in scores of thousands of pieces of literature scattered through the country, announced their purpose to muster all the forces of Labour for a revolutionary reconstruction." *

* Introduction to American Edition of *Erin's Hope*.

The awakening influence of the Gaelic League and the spread of the remodelled doctrine of nationalism resulted in the formation of small literary societies, whose writings sedulously aped the literary memorials of the revolutionaries of '98 and '48. In 1899 Arthur Griffiths founded his paper, *The United Irishmen*—a significant title. The journal was pledged to the creed of the absolute independence of Ireland, and, though it did not advocate armed revolution, it published writings by those who did and admitted to its columns the views of all who sought the destruction of the Act of Union and the separation of Ireland from British administrative rule.

In 1902 Griffiths outlined his Hungarian policy, a system invented by Franz Deak during the quarrel in 1845 between Austria and Hungary. As interpreted by Griffiths for Ireland it was, in fact, a scheme of national passive resistance, Griffiths holding that by abstaining from sending members of Parliament to represent Ireland at Westminster, the administration of Ireland would become impossible. It was to be not only a passive resistance, but actually a boycott of English law administration and all that pertains to government, and Griffiths at this date envisioned not an independent Irish Republic but Ireland with a national constitution modelled on that of 1782 and under an Irish Crown.

The whole conception of Griffiths' original *Sinn Fein* policy was hostile to the existing Irish Nationalist Parliamentary party, and it speedily became clear that to overthrow the existing machine it was necessary that Sinn Fein should

develop from an obscure movement among literary *intelligentsia* into a political body itself. In 1905 Sinn Fein crystallised as a political party, pledged to the programme indicated by Arthur Griffiths' so-called " Hungarian Policy."

In 1906 the policy of Sinn Fein was adopted by the I.R.B. and the Clan-na-Gael, and John Devoy in announcing this decision wrote :—

" It is because Ireland is to-day unable to overcome England on the battlefield we preach the Sinn Fein policy. . . . . " *

But, despite this pious protestation, the leaders of the secret societies never lost faith in physical force and armed rebellion as the only possible solvent of the Irish problem. They knew Irish character better than did Arthur Griffiths, and they knew that physical force is the only convincing argument that an Irishman really understands. Also, some of them saw that a new political party was essential as a weapon for the destruction of the old, and that it would also be useful for the subversion, or capture of the A.O.H.

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* *The Evolution of Sinn Fein*, by R. M. Henry, p. 51.

CHAPTER IX

The Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Revival of the I.R.B.

The two most important obstacles to the spread of revolutionary and republican doctrines were the Parliamentary party and the Irish Catholic Church. The assault on the A.O.H., the combined stronghold of the two, by the joint forces of Sinn Fein and the Clan-na-Gael is a matter of considerable interest which has not been dealt with (so far as I am aware) by any of the Irish writers of the history of their times. The attack developed within a bare two years of the institution of Sinn Fein as a political party.

The *Ancient Order of Hibernians* (A.O.H.) claims in its own official history, published in 1910, to be the oldest secret society in Ireland. Independent researches show that the claim is sound and that the present A.O.H. is the descendant of certain criminal organisations of the past. The open admission of this chain of descent by its own historian is important. American sources trace the A.O.H. to 1565, but the date 1641 is that more commonly accepted.

The Society is nominally a Friendly Society, but pursues political ends and is notorious for jobbery and corruption. It has a vast organisation in the

U.S.A. where it is frankly revolutionary, and is confined to Roman Catholics who must be Irish, though in the U.S.A. this rule is relaxed to admit people of Irish descent.

The history of the organisation goes back to the *Defenders* of 1775 through the *United Irishmen* of '98, when, as Ribbon men or Defenders they comprised the main body of the insurgent rank and file.

Bergin, the A.O.H. historian, states that during the period following the '98 rebellion :—

> " Branches of Ribbon men sprang up in several countries under different designations. In England and Scotland divisions were formed under the name *Hibernia Funeral Society*, while in several counties in Ireland the name *Molly Maguires* was used."

(The record of the *Molly Maguires* is well known. It was active both in Ireland and in the United States, where it committed many murders in Pennsylvania.)

In 1825 the Ribbon men changed the name of their Society into *St. Patrick's Fraternal Organisation*, otherwise known as *St. Patrick's Boys*. This change was necessary as, like their predecessors, the *Whiteboys*, this eminently Catholic association of Ribbon men had been excommunicated by the Church.

The avowed objects of the S.P.F.S. were nominally as follows :—

" 1. The object of this Society (to be called St. Patrick's Fraternal Society) is to promote Friendship, Unity and True Christian Charity, by raising and supporting a stock or Fund of money for aiding and assisting its members when

out of employment, and for no other purpose whatsoever.

" 2. None but members of the Catholic Church shall belong to this Brotherhood ; none shall be admitted of a doubtful or suspicious character, and each shall be expected to live up to the practice of his religious duties.

" 3. The Society shall consist of an unlimited number of members, forming Branch Societies and governed by officers regularly elected.

" 4. The members shall meet every month and pay their subscriptions.

" 5. The proceedings of the meetings shall be considered private from all persons not interested in the Society.

" 6. The members shall endeavour to propagate brotherly love amongst each other ; hence they will never provoke, challenge, or fight any of the Brethren. If any brother shall be spoken ill of, or otherwise treated unjustly, the members shall render him all possible assistance ; and, in matters of business, the preference shall be given to those attached to the interests of the Society, as circumstances may permit.

" I, A.B., having had the above explained to me, promise to be true and faithful to the duties of this Society ; and may God assist me to be faithful to the same, and strengthen our friendship and grant us to live in the state of grace. Amen."

In 1836 the Executive in Ireland allowed the Society to establish a branch in America. There the organisation immediately prospered. In 1838 the S.P.F.S. of America changed its name to the A.O.H., and only gradually did the name A.O.H.

come to be adopted by Divisions in Ireland. Even as late as 1904 delegates came to the Convention of the Order representing themselves as " Defenders."

The Irish A.O.H. worked well with the American A.O.H. until 1884, and America even paid dues to the governing body until 1878, when trouble arose through a split in the American A.O.H. over the admission of members of Irish descent instead of Irish birth. This dissension was copied by the Irish A.O.H. so the Society was split into two groups in each country and there were four executives.

In America the breach was later healed, but in Ireland it continued until 1902, when a conference was called and both parties agreed to work under a joint board of control representing both sections. This board was termed the A.O.H. Board of Erin.

In 1905 the A.O.H. again split on the question of whether to register as a Friendly Society or not. One wing with 500 divisions and a 60,000 membership refused. The other with some 20 divisions and a 1,500 membership registered.

The dispute continued till 1907 as a law action started by the seceders—Board of Erin Order of Hibernians *versus* Ancient Order of Hibernians. The seceders were then thought to have been destroyed, but had not, and were still in existence.

In April, 1908, a delegate from America came over to heal the split, and of this Bergin writes significantly :—

" Some time previous to the visit of these Delegates those who unsuccessfully endeavoured to filch the title of the Society from its rightful owners were very busy in the

city of Dublin organising new divisions, in order to show to the American visitors their right to call themselves members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. A significant fact in connection with the formation of these branches was that only those of the extreme section of Irish national politics were admitted, and practically all those connected with a political society, called Sinn Fein here, but known in America as Clan-na-Gael, joined shortly prior to the arrival of the Americans. It was thus hoped that sufficient proof could be established to show that there were two bodies in Ireland working under the common title. With the assistance of their newly-found friends, the gentlemen who still paraded as members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians organised a demonstration of welcome to the American visitors. All the public bodies and corporations were circularised to co-operate, but the night of the arrival clearly showed that, with the exception of some members of the Gaelic League and a few branches of the Irish National Foresters, no person was present except those well known to be connected with the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland."

The Board of Erin tried to come to terms with the delegate, and produced its books of 635 divisions and 60,000 members. Mr. Cummings, the American delegate, stated at the Conference that the duty of Nationalists to-day was to encourage a desire in young men to prepare for a revolutionary movement in Ireland and afford them facilities to equip themselves in the art of war.

Mr. Devlin, then National President of the A.O.H., later received the following letter :—

"St. Mary's Cathedral,
Sydney.
July 26th, 1909.

"My Dear Mr. Devlin,

Permit me to thank you for the good work which you have done in keeping the Hibernians in Ireland distinct from the American Clan-na-Gaels. I would regard the union of the Hibernians with the latter as

pregnant with manifold dangers. We are the more interested in the result as efforts were being made in Australia, and with some success, to promote a similar union of our fine body of Hibernians with the Americans hostile to the Irish party. I am happy to say our Hibernians are working admirably. I had occasion to make some remarks on the Irish Language Movement which seemed favourable to the Celtic League promoters, who, I am told, are hostile to your Parliamentary Party. My purpose, however, would be to make the Irish Language Movement a powerful agency in support of the Parliamentary Party. Here we are all most loyal to the Party, and we lament very much that any persons claiming to be friends of Ireland or of the Irish language should show themselves hostile to it.

(*Signed*) Patrick Cardinal Moran,
Archbishop of Sydney."

Thus, ten years ago, the real A.O.H. of Ireland represented a powerful Nationalist weapon, hostile to the forces of extremism and devoted to the Irish Parliamentary party, but the Board of Erin A.O.H. was revolutionary.

The A.O.H. in America has for many years been under the direct control of the Clan-na-Gael, which also influences through the A.O.H. such American Catholic Associations as are not distinctly Irish, such as the *Knights of Columbus*, a Catholic Fraternal Society, in some ways akin to the Y.M.C.A. The A.O.H. of America is powerfully organised and has over six thousand lodges, and it is said by Heckethorn to be divided into two degrees ; in the first no oath is exacted and no real secret communicated. The second or inner degree is confined to officials, who receive their passwords and signs from the Board of Erin in Ireland, who send an emissary every three months.

In 1908 the American A.O.H. was already in revolt against the Irish Parliamentary Party who controlled the A.O.H. in Ireland. At the 46th State Convention of the A.O.H. of Pennsylvania, the following declaration was made :—

"IRELAND.

"That we again assert our unswerving fidelity to that fundamental principle of our Order, namely, the complete independence of Ireland, toward the attainment of which the untiring energy of all patriotic Irishmen should be directed; that is the meaning of the spirit of Irish nationality as all Hibernians understand it. We declare that Ireland is, under God, entitled to a free and independent form of government, and the devoted struggle for liberty she has so long maintained has proven to the world her right of independence. We are convinced that nothing short of complete and absolute separation from England can ever bring lasting prosperity to Ireland."

And the following statement of policy was affirmed:

"That whilst we encourage all movements having for their object the uplifting, regeneration and freedom of the Motherland, still, as a Catholic National Organisation which has struggled long and faithfully for the highest ideals of the race, we deem it proper in the best interests of our Order not to give, either now or at any other time, our approval or endorsement to any special policy or political movement from without; that we recognise the individual right of all members to assist any movement

they deem best to elevate Ireland, but remembering always that the Ancient Order of Hibernians has given generously of her treasure and blood for many centuries to disseminate and preserve the purest principles of Irish nationality, and whilst it yields to no other organisation on the face of the earth in its love for and loyalty toward that genuine Irish nationality, it can neither now nor in the future become the creature of any party or combination of men, and, therefore, we here and now warn all outsiders that they must not attempt to dictate our policy to us as an organisation nor interfere even in the slightest way with the administration of the affairs of this noble Order."

The very name of "this noble Order" was anathema to all those idealists in Ireland who had not been put to the test by having the incense of political power burnt before their nostrils. Irish politics have ever been venal, but nobody can question the purity of motive which animated the little concourse of Sinn Feiners before they came into contact with reality. They fulminated against corruption with all the enthusiasm with which Catholic children below the age of puberty condemn the sins of the flesh. The Irish, who are the best critics of their own vices, hold that in the substitution of the regime of murder for that of political corruption, the Sinn Fein party did something toward the cleansing of the national escutcheon—a point which may safely be left to the judgment of history.

The leaven of the revolutionary societies worked slowly, but they were quite content to abide by

their policy of propaganding the Republican idea of making it a name and a system familiar to the growing generation. A sporadic issue of pamphlets and copious reprints of the tenets of revolutionaries of a past generation poured from the press. The columns of the ephemeral journalism of the day were devoted to commentaries, criticism and general discussion not only of Sinn Fein ideas but of Republican ideas; and, above all, the existing Parliamentary party was subjected to a sustained fire of blasting criticism.

The soul of journalism is repetition, and although from 1910 to 1913 the Sinn Fein party was looked on as a negligible association of cranks, their work was nevertheless extremely important. They had revivified the cause of Irish nationalism, they had shown that there was an alternative to the existing Parliamentary mechanism for achieving independence, and they picked the cause of Republicanism out of the cess-pit where the Invincibles and Land Leaguers had left it by identifying its principles with those of the Young Irishmen's aspirations of '48 and ignoring its association with some of the blackest chapters of Irish crime. It was, of course, inevitable that it should relapse into murder if it ever came to be practicable, but at this time Sinn Fein did not in the least believe in the inflammatory propaganda which it preached.

The Sinn Feiners succeeded in destroying the faith of the Irish people in their Parliamentary system and its leaders and members, and they had spread corrosive ideas throughout the youth of the country. In addition, they had steadfastly

opposed recruiting for the British forces and had discussed the probable war between Germany and Britain with a special eye to the advantages Ireland might be expected to gain therefrom. As early as 1911, John Devoy, of the Clan-na-Gael, had initiated correspondence on this point, and there was a clear understanding with the Irish revolutionists that Germany would play the part of a friend and aid them in their designs if world-war furnished the opportunity.

In the main the Sinn Fein principles were only held by the young *Intelligentsia* and were not deeply imbued in the people as a whole. Republican and revolutionary sympathies were secretly very much more widely held, and these appealed more to romantic and martial-minded youths than to the class of weak young fools then to be found among the boudoir Bolsheviki of Sinn Fein. The third great propagandist force was the unexpected rise of an Irish labour party.

James Conolly had, after founding the *Irish Socialist Republican Party*, journeyed to the United States, where he became active in the councils of the notorious "Industrial Workers of the World" organisation. In 1907 he returned to Ireland and organised the *Irish Socialist Federation*, whose aim was to preach the social revolution under the guise of an essentially Irish national revolution. This policy he announced in a leading article in the first volume of the Federation's monthly journal, *The Harp*, as follows:—

"We propose to show all the workers of our fighting race that socialism will make them better fighters without being less Irish; we propose to advise the Irish who are

socialists now to organise their forces as Irish and get again into touch with the organised bodies of literary, educational and revolutionary Irish; we propose to make a campaign among our countrymen and to rely for our method mainly on imparting to them a correct interpretation of the facts of Irish history past and present; we propose to take the control of the Irish vote out of the hands of the slimy *seonini** who use it to boost their political and business interests to the undoing of the Irish as well as the American toiler."

In a word, Conolly's system of propaganda for raising the standard of social revolution in Ireland was to be exactly the same method of "interpretation" of history and appeal to race hatred as was used by Sinn Fein—but with this difference, that, whereas England and the Empire were the enemy that Sinn Fein hated with ecstatic monomania, Conolly and his disciples were to teach the Irish to hate capital, manifested as property or industries, whether Irish or English.

Contemporaneously with Conolly's return to Dublin, Belfast saw the rise to fame of James Larkin, destined to be the most violent labour agitator of his time. Like Conolly, Larkin, too, had been a member of the I.W.W.,† that sinister American organisation which works by methods of violence and anarchy and seeks to establish proletarian rule by means of organising Labour into "one big union" for use as a Syndicalist weapon of class warfare.

Larkin founded the *Irish Transport and General Workers' Union*, an organisation that to-day embraces all kinds of labour from unskilled workers

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* *Seonini* is Irish for 'old men.'

† Industrial Workers of the World.

to national school-teachers and clerks, and was quick to press the policy of swift and ruthless "sympathetic strikes." The theory underlying Larkin's and Conolly's application of the I.W.W. methods to Irish labour organisation was the principle of endless guerilla warfare against Capital, pressed on by means of endless sectional strikes.

"It was all undoubtedly something new in trade-union tactics in Ireland," says A. P. Ryan, "and apart from its methods it was moved by a faith that in modern days was rather novel on Irish soil—the faith that all the workers were brothers, and that all were being robbed more or less of the fruits of their toil, that the circumstances of the unskilled were particularly inhuman and demoralising, that their shock tactics, intermittent guerilla warfare, were often the only means of securing an instalment of social justice, that no instalment could be regarded as more than temporarily satisfactory; that, given the opportunity, the fight would be renewed again and again till more instalments were secured; that the end was a co-operative commonwealth in which all who were able to do so would work with hand or brain or both, and all the co-workers be controllers in their various industries."*

Conolly's may have been the thinking power and the writing power, but James Larkin was the man of action. Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the Transport Workers' and General Workers' Union, became a centre of propagandism and inspired discontent. The doctrine of direct action

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* *The Irish Labour Movement*, by A. P. Ryan, p. 194.

became their cardinal article of faith, and from Cork to Belfast Larkin toured, and wherever his feet tarried, strikes, trouble and class war rose.

The year 1913 saw the climax of the labour revolt, for the employers joined issue against the I.T.G.W.U., and no less than thirty-seven Unions affiliated to the organisation joined in the fray, which lasted eight months and ended without decisive victory on either side.

The attitude of the Sinn Fein party was entirely against the Larkinites throughout, but individual extremists, such as A. P. Pearse and the notorious Countess Markievicz, supported them. During the course of the struggle Larkin was arrested, and, imitating the ' Suffragettes,' carried out a hunger-strike, a weapon whose utility was at once recognised by subsequent political offenders.

It was the bitterness of the last period of the strike, in which scenes of violence were common, that led Larkin to found the armed association known as the Citizens' Army which was to re-appear in the rebellion of 1916.

In the main, the influence of the labour movement on the forces of revolution was an open, rather than a secret process ; but there are circumstances which suggest that within the labour organisation was latent a hidden organisation which was in close connection with the criminal I.W.W. of America and with Continental syndicalists of the anarchist type. There was certainly close contact with the I.R.B. and the extreme Republicans who were at the left wing of the normally constitutional Sinn Fein party ; but all these connections were personal, that is to say, the results of individual

predilection and kindred attraction between leaders rather than inspired by any definite policy within the common body of the Union.

The social revolutionary group in Ireland have not surrendered control of their organisation for achieving revolution either to the I.R.B. or even to extreme Sinn Fein, and a revolution, if it comes, will probably be supported by the bulk of the I.R.B. who are in general a proletarian organisation, but may be opposed by official Sinn Fein and its adherents.

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Possibly it will be a matter of surprise to future historians that, while all these events were shaping themselves, the authorities remained not only unconcerned but totally ignorant of the extent of the damage which was being done. One of the great contributory causes of this failure was the fact that in 1910 Mr. Bryce, with an unwisdom that is inexplicable, broke up the remains of the Irish political secret service.

This institution was a legacy from the days of Pitt, but it had proved its value as an insurance against rebellion in Fenian days and was of inestimable service during the Land League period. Through it the Government had been able to check incipient criminal movements and had been able to gather information of a sort not likely to be within the scope of police detectives or the ordinary members of the force. It had been the custom for the authorities to have their own agents within the circles of the Brotherhood and kindred doubtful associations. The abolition of the Irish political

secret service broke these connections, so that later, when urgent need arose, it was difficult to place agents within the organisation and quite impossible to get them swiftly into positions of importance such as had been attained by the agents of the past who had slowly risen to eminence in the organisation as time passed.

Deprived of this valuable source of information, the general opinion of the authorities was based on police reports—in the main of little value and of course not heeded, and on the general gossip of the classes with whom they came into contact. Catholic dignitaries, Nationalist or Unionist members of Parliament, the professional classes and the big commercial men all agreed that Sinn Fein was negligible and that the clouds of revolutionary talk, and the masses of little seditious journals, meant nothing. It may be remarked here that, in view of the Irish mentality, public opinion in Ireland is valueless as a political guide.

Revolution in the physical sense is impossible without arms, and a wise legislation had continued to enforce the old Arms Act of 1847 in various amended forms. This Act prohibited the possession of arms of any kind except by people duly licensed. In effect, it placed no restriction on the possession of arms by respectable people and kept them out of the hands of the criminal and revolutionary element. In 1906, under the administration of Mr. Bryce, this Act was allowed to lapse, and there were from then onwards no restrictions on the purchase or possession of small arms of any kind.

By 1910 the secret societies were in possession

of plenty of revolvers; firearms were used in connection with agrarian outrage and were also popular at faction fights. Thus in County Londonderry in this year (1910) the A.O.H. and the Orange Society prepared for battle on the 15th August at Garvagh. The district was Orange and the action of the A.O.H. was tantamount to an 'invasion.' Information was sworn by the County Inspector of Police to the effect that :—

> "Large quantities of revolvers have been imported into Garvagh lately, also the members of both processions will, almost to a man, carry revolvers."

The meeting was forbidden by proclamation and 650 police were drafted into Garvagh, to stop any attempt to provoke an outbreak. This action was sufficient to preserve the peace, but it is worth noting that the Orangemen brought over an old cannon, dated 1848, but still capable of being fired, from Limavahy, and placed it in the Orange Hall at Garvagh. A second field piece, brought from Boveagh, was stopped *en route.*

The sale of arms of all kinds—rifles, revolvers and automatic pistols—increased steadily, but with the coming of the Volunteer movement it became a serious menace.

The Volunteer movement began in 1914 in Ulster as the direct consequence of an attempt on the part of the Liberal Government to force the Home Rule Bill on that province. This unfortunate measure had passed the Houses despite the most rigid Unionist opposition, but Ulster had no intention of surrendering to its provisions without a struggle.

The situation portended Civil War. A ' Solemn League and Covenant,' to resist it, was drawn up, and Ulster, organising largely through the Orange Lodges, recruited an *Ulster Volunteer Force* which was completely organised throughout the North.

The Orange Lodges had been re-organised in 1885, when Gladstone introduced the threatening Home Rule Bill. Prior to this the Order had somewhat relapsed and had been little more than a convivial friendly society. The threat of Home Rule brought it once more to the fore as a powerful political organisation, and the Ulster electorate, which had until then been predominantly Liberal, became and remained solidly Unionist. The membership of the Order expanded enormously, and the existing mechanism adapted itself to the new needs of the old motto, " No Surrender."

The Orange Lodges had been legally drilling since January 5th, 1912, when application was made to the Belfast Justices for leave to drill on behalf of Colonel R. H. Wallace, C.B., Grand Master of the Belfast and Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Ulster ; but the skeleton organisation had long been in existence, as was evident by the splendidly disciplined marching of the Lodges at the great Craigavon meeting in September, 1911.

The existence of the Ulster Volunteer Force may be taken as dating from the spring of 1912, developing largely in the autumn of that year, when it paraded with wooden dummy rifles.

On Saturday, 28th September, 1912, the ' Solemn League and Covenant ' was drawn up and signed by 471,414 people of Ulster. Exactly a year later

the strength of the U.V.F. was 100,000 men, and vigorous divisional training was in full swing.

The Ulstermen were supported by the English Conservative party, whose members were willing to assist not only with funds but with service in the field. Sir Edward Carson marshalled his forces; General Sir Thomas Hickman, C.B., D.S.O., Unionist M.P. for Wolverhampton, became adviser, and Lieut.-General Sir George Richardson, K.C.B., was appointed G.O.C. on the advice of Lord Roberts. Within a few weeks the manhood of Ulster was drilling in preparation for armed resistance to the Nationalist South. Presbyterian Divines in Scotland and martial Duchesses in England applauded the Ulster move. The generality of people was vaguely conscious that, when Sir Edward Carson said "Ulster will fight—and Ulster will be right," he *was* right. The Ulster people were loyalists, and the Home Rulers were and always had been a bad lot. The paradox that it was loyalists in rebellion against the constitutional decision of the elected representatives of the people of Great Britain did not worry them. Britain judged not so much, perhaps, by the clamour of either side, but by the inherited racial knowledge. Ulster folk were of their kin and a different stock from the furtive emotional type that represents the Ireland of Sinn Fein and outrage.

The question of arms for the Ulster Volunteers became paramount, and it also became abundantly clear that the Army would not coerce Ulster and that the Navy would turn the blind eye to gun-running. Arms were secured on the Continent, a shipment by the *Mountjoy* was successfully

landed at Larne on 24th April, 1914, consisting of 20,000 rifles and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition. Other consignments of equipment and even Colt machine-guns were passed in. Respectable passengers on the boats carried concealed pairs of pistols, the garage of a motor agency in the heart of London was a centre of gun-running interest, a London M.P. helped to store arms—and the Liberal Government was powerless and ignorant.

The action of the North had its immediate repercussion in the South. The chance was too good to be missed, and on November 25th, 1913, *The Irish Volunteers*, as distinct from the Ulster Volunteers, had been formally instituted.

The composition of the Committee was peculiar, for on it were not the leaders of the Parliamentary party but a mixed group of Sinn Feiners, Republicans, Parliamentary Nationalists and unknown people. Behind the Volunteers were the hidden forces of the I.R.B., who had a far heavier representation among the officers and rank and file than was even guessed by their colleagues. The Brotherhood was also well represented in the councils of the kindred organisation *The Citizens' Army*, an armed body of socialist revolutionaries created by Larkin in imitation of the Ulster movement, but under the command of Conolly after Larkin's deportation to the United States in 1914.

It is a peculiar commentary on the breakdown of Liberal principles in countries such as Ireland where the *lex talionis* alone is recognised by the natives, that Larkin was permitted by the authorities to organise this force. He had declared reasons for its foundation in his speech at the

inaugural meeting: "Labour," he said, "in its own defence must begin to train itself to act with disciplined courage and with organised and concentrated force. How can we accomplish this? By taking a leaf out of the book of Carson. If Carson has permission to train his braves of the North to fight against the aspirations of the Irish people, then it is legitimate and fair for labour to organise in the same militant way to preserve their rights and to ensure that, if they are attacked, they will be able to give a satisfactory account of themselves . . . Labour might no longer be defenceless, but might be able to utilise that great physical power which it possessed to prevent their elemental rights from being taken from them and to evolve such a system of unified action, self-control and ordered discipline that labour in Ireland might march in the forefront of all movements for the betterment of the whole people of Ireland."*

The initiation of the Irish Volunteers provided a rival organisation of greater attraction, so that the bulk of the Citizen Army was recruited into the new movement; after a period of recrimination and dissension between the I.V. and the C.A., the latter were finally reformed in March, 1914, by Captain White, a social renegade of some notoriety in Irish affairs. "On this new basis it was established that the first and last principle of the Citizen Army is the avowal that the ownership of Ireland, moral and material, is vested of right in the people of Ireland; that the Citizen Army shall stand for

* R. M. Henry, *op. cit.* p. 142–143.

the absolute unity of Irish nationhood and shall support the rights and liberties of the democracies of all nations; that one of its objects shall be to sink all differences of birth, property and creed under the common name of the Irish people; that the Citizen Army shall be open to all who accept the principle of equal rights and opportunities for the Irish people."*

The attitude of the Irish Volunteers was paradoxical; they declared that they were not hostile to the Ulster Volunteers and applauded the latter for taking up arms to resist the decrees of the British Government. This attitude on the part of the I.V. was readily understood by the bulk of the Irish people, who were not yet ready to believe that the organisation of the younger generation seriously contemplated any form of armed opposition to British power.

The recalcitrant attitude of Ulster and the wave of public sympathy and support of the Unionist party had made the Home Rule Bill unworkable. Early in 1914 the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, explained the amendments; the Cabinet had evolved a new scheme providing for the exclusion of Ulster, and the Irish Nationalist party had agreed to accept this partition. At this all Home Rule Ireland rose in wrath at what they deemed the surrender of the vital principle of Irish nationality by the Parliamentary party. Consent to the exclusion of Ulster was held to be the Great Betrayal. "As for Ulster, Ulster is Ireland's and shall remain Ireland's. Though the Irish

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* R. M. Henry, *op. cit.* p. 144.

nation in its political and corporate capacity were gall and wormwood to every Unionist in Ulster, yet shall they swallow it. We will fight them if they want fighting; but we shall never let them go, never." Thus spoke the organ of the Republicans.

Sinn Fein and labour spokesmen were no less emphatic, and it became manifest to all that the Home Rule party had lost the support of the country on the issue. Ulster also rejected the proposal for partition and roundly declared its intention to fight and smash the whole Home Rule agitation for ever and a day—and they meant it. The British Army, which had always been "outside politics," suddenly came into them, and signified by the Curragh incident that the Army would have no hand in the coercion of Ulster. Affairs became more and more chaotic, and at last John Redmond, the leader of the Home Rule party, realised in some measure what a menace the Irish Volunteer movement was becoming.

He decided to attempt to control them and demanded the right to nominate to the I.V. Committee twenty-five members of the Home Rule party. This demand was bitterly resented, but could not be withstood, for the existing members of the I.V. Committee were not men of standing or political importance. The situation was that the I.V. did not feel strong enough to oppose the Home Rulers and that the latter did not feel sure enough of their power to attempt to suppress a movement which seemed "patriotic." The Redmondite nominees were, therefore, accepted—but allowed no real insight or control in Volunteer

affairs. There were four priests among the nominees and the balance were true Redmondites ; it was, however, merely a gloss for the continuance of the old duel between the A.O.H. and the I.R.B.

" We admit," said *The Irish Worker*, " the bulk of the rank and file (of Parliamentary Nationalists) are men of principle and men who are out for liberty for all men ; but why allow the foulest growth that ever cursed this land (the Hibernian Board of Erin) to control an organisation that might, if properly handled, accomplish great things ? "

The Irish Volunteers were still without a standard pattern of arms, though the members possessed a great store of miscellaneous and privately-owned arms with which they practised and paraded. Redmond tried to raise funds for the advertised purpose of purchasing arms at some future date, but before this came about the members of the original committee purchased a stock of serviceable weapons with money supplied by the I.R.B., and succeeded in running the cargoes in at Kilcool and Howth.

Then came the declaration of war between Britain and Germany, and all Irish affairs remained for a time in suspense.

The old rules and regulations of the I.R.B. were not sufficiently flexible to permit of the incorporation of members of various volunteer bodies, whose existence had not been contemplated at the time when these were drawn up. A new constitution was therefore framed, a draft of which is given in *Appendix J* of this volume.

CHAPTER X

Germany and the Rebels

The outbreak of war introduced a new element in the shape of an alliance between the I.R.B., the Clan-na-Gael, and Germany. Devoy had certainly seen the inevitable years before, but more recently Germany had been keeping a watchful eye on the march toward civil war and had indeed supplied Ulster with excellent rifles at a ridiculously low price, in order that Britain's embarrassments with Ireland might ensure sufficient distractions to keep Great Britain out of the European arena. It is indeed difficult to understand why Germany did not make a fuller use of her opportunities and furnish free of cost to both groups of would-be belligerents sufficient obsolescent firearms and ammunition to achieve an explosion.

The possible relationships between Germany and Ireland in the event of war with England had been keenly debated in the various seditious organs, and it had been more or less established that, whereas the Irish did not desire to exchange British for German—or for the matter of that, any other—domination, it was yet thought that in the event of German victory Ireland would be given Home Rule in a more liberal form than England would ever be prepared to yield.

The chief supporter of the doctrine of a German-

Irish alliance was, fittingly enough, Sir Roger Casement, a moral as well as a political pervert, who had been associated with subversive and disintegrative factions in politics for a considerable time. He had first attained notoriety at the time of the ' Red Rubber ' agitation of E. D. Morel, and had been the principal author of the charges levelled against certain South American rubber traders in connection with the Putumayo scandals.

In 1911, 1912, 1913 and 1914 Casement had secretly written the articles proposing alliance between revolutionary Ireland and Germany; this despite the fact that he enjoyed a position in the British Consular Service and had accepted an order of Knighthood at the hands of his Majesty the King.

Casement had been active in the councils of the Irish Volunteers and at the date of the outbreak of war was in the United States on business connected with the relationship between the I.R.B. and the Clan-na-Gael. Previous to this he had been in Berlin, where he was well known and in close touch with General Bernhardi, who in 1912 had translated and published in Germany Casement's anonymous pamphlet on *Ireland, Germany and the next War*. On the 3rd November, 1914, Casement reached Berlin and laid before the German Foreign Office the suggestions of alliance between the Irish Republicans and Germany, and established a line of communication *via* the American Clan-na-Gael with revolutionary Ireland. From Berlin he communicated with Judge Cohalan and John Devoy, the Clan leaders in the States, who, in turn, maintained communication with the I.R.B.

in Ireland through emissaries and an established letter-carrying service on craft crossing between Ireland and America.

The Germans had at this time no agent of importance in Ireland; for their representative, Karl Lody, a spy, had been arrested in Killarney on the 2nd October and had been executed at the Tower on the 6th November.

It is probable that the Germans experienced considerable difficulty in trying to fathom the real state of affairs in Ireland, and did not attach great importance to Casement's interpretation of the position and estimate of the revolutionary fervour of the country. The discreditable nature of Casement's private life was known to them, and though they were quite ready to use him as a tool, it is abundantly clear that at heart they had nothing but contempt for him.

The situation in Ireland during the early part of the 1914 period was obscure. Redmond had made a magnificent gesture in the House pledging the support and loyalty of Nationalist Ireland without conditions—and, it must be said, without sound knowledge of the condition of corruption that had been achieved by the Republicans and Sinn Feiners among the younger generation. The emotional appeal of the early days of war produced a certain immediate result both in the North and in the South, and reservists, irrespective of their political leanings, were called up to join their units. But as soon as the call for recruiting became general, the practical issue involved caused a clear precipitation of the parties. The Ulster Volunteers were about 85,000 strong and possessed

some 50,000 rifles ; the Irish Volunteers registered a paper roll of 181,000, but had only some 9,000 rifles and little reserve of ammunition.

Ulster unreservedly supported the cause of the Allies, and by the end of September had contributed some twelve battalions to the forces. The political conflict was temporarily ended by the signature of the existing Home Rule Bill and the immediate passing of a measure suspending all provisions of the Bill from operation. The rank and file of the Redmondites had recruited in overwhelming numbers into the Irish National Volunteers, but as soon as the question of recruiting from the latter to the British Army was mooted, a split developed.

Redmond had pledged the Government that Ireland should be defended by the Volunteers, and the force thus existed on the mental conception of a Home Defence basis ; there were thus many people in its ranks who, though in nowise disaffected, held in self-interest that Irishmen should not be called upon to serve outside Ireland. In addition to this, the members of the original Volunteer Committee were secretly revolutionaries, and the whole body of Sinn Fein, the Republicans and the Citizen Army, had no intention of serving in any other war except one of the Irish against the British.

The revolutionists issued the following manifesto on the eve of Redmond's big recruiting meeting at the Mansion House :—

" Mr. Redmond, addressing a body of Irish Volunteers on last Sunday, has now announced for the Irish Volunteers a policy and programme fundamentally at variance

with their own published and accepted pledges, but with which his nominees are, of course, identified. He has declared it to be the duty of the Irish Volunteers to take foreign service under a Government which is not Irish . . . . Having thus disregarded the Irish Volunteers and their solemn engagement, Mr. Redmond is no longer entitled, through his nominees, to any place in the administration and guidance of the Irish Volunteer Organisation. Those who, by virtue of Mr. Redmond's nomination, have heretofore been admitted to act on the Provisional Committee accordingly cease henceforth to belong to that body, and from this date until the holding of an Irish Volunteer Convention, the Provisional Committee shall consist of only those who comprised it before the admission of Mr. Redmond's nominees."

"At the next meeting of the Provisional Committee, we shall propose :—

(1) To call a Convention of the Irish Volunteers for Wednesday, 25th November, 1914, the anniversary of the inaugural meeting of the Irish Volunteers in Dublin.

(2) To re-affirm without qualification the manifesto proposed and adopted at the inaugural meeting.

(3) To oppose any diminution of the measure of Irish self-government which now exists as a Statute on paper, and which would not now have reached that stage but for the Irish Volunteers.

(4) To repudiate any undertaking by whomsoever given, to consent to the legislative dismemberment of Ireland; and to protest against the attitude of the present Government who, under the pretence that Ulster cannot be coerced, avow themselves prepared to coerce the Nationalists of Ulster.

(5) To declare that Ireland cannot with honour and safety take part in foreign quarrels other than through the free action of a National Government of her own; and to repudiate the claim of any man to offer up the blood and lives of the sons of Irishmen to the service of the British Empire, while no National Government which could speak or act for the people of Ireland is allowed to exist.

(6) To demand that the present system of Governing Ireland through Dublin Castle and British Military power, a system responsible for the recent military outrages in Dublin, be abolished without delay and that a National Government be forthwith established in its place."

The Convention was duly held and was attended by delegates from all parts of the country who were in reality nominees of the provincial organisation of the I.R.B. The result was a split which by December, 1914, determined the numbers of the various organisations as follows : —

National Volunteers (Redmondites), 152,090 ;

Irish Volunteers (McNeill's Sinn Fein), 13,347. Of these the National Volunteers of the Redmondite camp were not revolutionary and were, indeed, of no practical utility at all. They contributed only 10,794 recruits to the forces, whereas the Ulster Volunteers who were numerically only 85,000 strong sent the far higher proportional figure of 8,203. The balance of the Irish contribution of recruits was 32,144, who did not belong to any organisation at all.

The split did not result in an immediate separation of the National from the Irish Volunteers, except in Dublin ; in the provinces they continued to work as one body, though the members held different policies.

By the spring of 1915 the organisation of the Irish Volunteers had concentrated within itself all the existing revolutionary and seditious elements and had become an open and undisguised association of a seditious character, active in resisting recruiting and subversive of authority.

In the meantime the Intelligence Departments of the British Army and Navy had correctly

gauged the conditions and were aware of the connection between Germany and the I.R.B. A certain number of seditious papers were suppressed and the War Office actively opposed any measures which, nominally projected to aid the recruiting of Nationalists, were really veils to cover the military organisation of the Irish Revolutionaries.

Meanwhile Casement's attempt to raise an Irish Legion out of the Irish prisoners of war failed hopelessly, and Devoy was actively engaged in helping the Germans to purchase arms which were to be shipped not to Ireland, but to India, to be used in revolution there.

The arrangements between the Clan-na-Gael as representing the I.R.B. and the German Government are amply set forth in such documents as the British Government has yet disclosed, *e.g.*, in the White Paper, *Documents relative to the Sinn Fein movement*, published by H.M. Stationery Office in 1921, from which the following are extracts :—

In February, 1915, Albert Sander, a German spy, who had offices at 150, Nassau Street, New York, formed an organisation called the *Friends of Peace*, the object of the Society being to assist Germany in securing an embargo on the exportation of arms from the United States, and to prevent America from entering the War. Linked up and affiliated with this Society were the Clan-na-Gael and the Socialist party of New York, a German-Irish Association called *The American Truth Society*, and a number of German-American Societies, and among the chairmen were John Devoy and Jeremiah A. O'Leary.

In February, 1917, Sander was convicted in New

York for initiating and providing in the United States for a military enterprise against Great Britain and Ireland and sending spies to Great Britain and Ireland, and was sentenced to two years imprisonment.

The following despatch was sent in January, 1916, from Berlin to Washington, and afterwards published by the American Secretary of State :—

"*German Foreign Office to Count von Bernstorff.*

1916, January 3 (*secret*).

" General Staff desires energetic action in regard to proposed destruction of Canadian Pacific Railway at several points with a view to complete and protracted interruption of traffic. Capt. Boehm, who is known on your side and is shortly returning, has been given instructions. Inform the Military Attaché and provide the necessary funds. (*Signed*) Zimmermann."

" January 26, for Military Attaché. You can obtain particulars as to persons suitable for carrying on sabotage in the United States and Canada from the following persons :—(1) Joseph M'Garrity, Philadelphia, Pa ; (2) John P. Keating, Michigan Avenue, Chicago ; (3) Jeremiah O'Leary, 16, Park Row, New York. One and two are absolutely reliable, but not always discreet. These persons are indicated by Sir Roger Casement. In the United States sabotage can be carried out in every kind of factory for supplying munitions of war. Railway embankments and bridges must not be touched. Embassy must in no circumstances be compromised. Similar precautions must be taken in regard to Irish pro-German propaganda.

(*Signed*) Representative of General Staff."

"5th January (1916) :—

Foreign Office, Berlin, to German Embassy, Washington.

No. 117 of 4th January.

No. 540 of 4th January.

For John Devoy :

Letter 21st November received : Officer unnecessary, no further men needed.

CASEMENT."

Shortly before the rebellion of Easter, 1916, there was founded in the United States the Association known as *The Friends of Irish Freedom*. In February, 1916, Judge Cohalan, T. St. John Gaffney, and Jeremiah A. O'Leary issued a call for an Irish Race Convention, which was held in New York on the 4th and 5th March, 1916. A permanent organisation was then formed. The president, three of the vice-presidents, the treasurer and secretary were members of the Clan-na-Gael ; Judge Cohalan was first of the Board of Directors ; Jeremiah O'Leary and Joseph M'Garrity were on the Executive. Of the 52 permanent members of the Board of Directors, 37 were members of the Clan-na-Gael, and of the 17 members of the Executive, 15 belonged to the Clan-na-Gael. John Devoy was one of the Association, and T. St. John Gaffney was appointed representative of the Friends of Irish Freedom for Europe. A bureau was established in Stockholm, whither Gaffney repaired, and from there and at Berlin maintained, along with George Chatterton-Hill, close relations between the German Government and the various

Irish-American and Sinn Fein organisations. De Valera, Monteith, Mellowes, and other of the Irish Sinn Fein rebels who went to America after the Rebellion, became participators in the work of the Friends of Irish Freedom.

The congress was convoked for the purpose of "arranging means to enable Ireland to recover independence after the war." The convention demanded the recognition of Ireland as an independent nation, and passed a resolution that :—

"We hereby appeal to the great powers to recognise that Ireland is an European island and not an English island, and to appreciate the fact that the complete independence of Ireland from the Britannic Empire is the essential and indispensable of the freedom of the seas."

The Friends of Irish Freedom maintained close touch with the German organisations in America both before and after the rebellion.

The bureau of the Friends of Irish Freedom in Stockholm was at 286, Artilleriegarten, and was under the direction of T. St. John Gaffney. We shall find him later acting along with Chatterton-Hill as the accredited agent of Sinn Fein at Stockholm and Berlin in 1917 and 1918.

The Indiska Central Committee (an Indian seditious organisation) shared quarters at 286 Artilleriegarten with the Friends of Irish Freedom.

The following documents speak for themselves :—

J. Nr. 109/16.

Most Secret. New York, February 10th, 1916.

Extract from Report of Confidential Agent, John Devoy, on the position in Ireland, which has

been delivered to the Imperial Embassy for telegraphic transmission :—

" Unanimous opinion that action cannot be postponed much longer. Delay disadvantageous to us. We can now put up an effective fight. Our enemies cannot allow us much more time. The arrest of our leaders would hamper us severely. Initiative on our part is necessary. The Irish regiments which are in sympathy with us are being gradually replaced by English regiments.

" We have therefore decided to begin action on Easter Saturday. Unless entirely new circumstances arise, we must have your arms and munitions in Limerick between Good Friday and Easter Saturday. We expect German help immediately after beginning action. We might be compelled to begin earlier.

" The Confidential Agent will advise (the Irish) if at all possible to wait, and will point out the difficulties in the way of (our) giving help, but nevertheless believes that circumstances make delay impossible. The Committee here will come to a decision independently.

(*Signed*) War Intelligence Centre,
SKAL."

(Despatch in envelope addressed :
Mr. W. Pfitsner,
Esschelaan 16,
Rotterdam.
Per s.s. *Sommelsdyk*.
Postmark : New York, February 10th, 1916.)

A DESPATCH.

BERLIN, *February 12th*, 1916.

" Your Excellency,

I have the honour, in answer to your report of the 24th December of last year, to acknowledge the payment of 1,000 dollars to Sir Roger Casement mentioned in wireless telegram.

ZIMMERMANN."

The following was attached surreptitiously by Count v. Bernstorff to a message regarding the *Lusitania* negotiations, which was sanctioned and passed through by State Department of the American Government, February 18th, 1916.

(No. 675).

"The Irish leader, John Devoy, informs me that rising is to begin in Ireland on Easter Saturday. Please send arms to (arrive at) Limerick, west coast of Ireland, between Good Friday and Easter Saturday.

"To put it off longer is impossible. Let me know if help may be expected from Germany.

V. BERNSTORFF."

"Foreign Office, Berlin, to German Embassy, Washington.

March 4th, 1916, 2009.

No. 572 of 1st March.

In reply to telegram 675 of 17th February.

"Between 20th and 23rd April, in the evening, two or three steam-trawlers could land 20,000 rifles and 10 machine-guns with ammunition and explosives at Fenit Pier in Tralee Bay.

"Irish pilot-boat to await the trawlers at dusk, north of the island of Inishtooskert, at the entrance of Tralee Bay, and show two green lights close to each other at short intervals. Please wire whether the necessary arrangements in Ireland can be made secretly through Devoy. Success can only be assured by the most vigorous efforts."

On March 12th, 1916, a code message in German was sent by wireless from the German Embassy in Washington to Banker Max Moebius, Oberwall-strasse, Berlin ; translated it was :—

" National Germania Insurance Contract certainly promised. Executor is evidently satisfied with proposition. Necessary steps have been taken.—Henry Newman."

Decoded, it reads :—

" Irish agree to proposition.
Necessary steps have been taken."

The following was despatched in an envelope addressed to :—

Mr. Z. N. G. Olifiers,
121 Keizergracht 121,
Sloterdyk, near Amsterdam.
Per s.s. *Noordam, via* Rotterdam.

" Washington, 15th March, 1916.

Continuation of telegram 686 of 12th March.

March 13th, 1916.

" If those fishing steamers are equipped with wireless apparatus the signals mentioned for the Limerick proposal would come in very useful. They are :—For warning that the vessel is coming, ' Finn ' ; for warning that something wrong has happened, ' Bran '. In case the fishing vessels are not equipped with wireless apparatus, the ' without wire ' signal could be sent from Germany and our friends would surely pick them up as they have numerous private receiving stations, though they cannot send out anything. ' Bran,' sent from Germany, would mean that something had gone wrong, whether delay in starting or interruption of voyage, and another date mentioned with this would mean that the affair was postponed to that date. ' Finn ' would mean that the cargo had started on time to arrive about the date already arranged. It is important that they should be

able to make the necessary arrangements in time and be able to conscript sufficient force at right moment. They are quite prepared to take all chances, but want to pre-arrange as much as possible to do. In case a submarine should come into Dublin Bay in connection with landing of anything, either material or officers, the signals 'Ashling' would ensure immediate recognition If a submarine should enter the Bay unconnected with any expedition no signal is necessary, and she should go right up to the Pigeon-house, which is now used as an electric plant, and a sewage station where boats are constantly entering and leaving and there are no nets.

JOHN DEVOY.
v. BERNSTORFF."

In April, 1916, a seizure was made by the United States Government at the office of Wolf von Igel, 60 Wall Street, New York, of certain documents which proved the intimate relations between the accredited representatives of the Kaiser in the United States and Irish plotters against the laws and security of the United States, as well as against the British Empire. Excerpts from them were published by the American Government. So far as they have been already disclosed, they give a glimpse into a portion of the intrigue between the Irish revolutionaries and the German Government. Von Igel had established in the autumn of 1914 what was ostensibly an " advertising agency " in Wall Street. The business carried on there had, however, nothing whatever to do with advertising. He was an official of the German Embassy, and his office was practically a sub-bureau of the German Foreign Office at Washington. Von Igel was especially concerned with the German-Irish intrigues.

* * * * * *

Casement left Kiel about 12th April, 1916, in a German submarine, accompanied by Monteith, a dismissed ordnance store conductor. They landed on the coast of Kerry on Good Friday, the 21st April, 1916. Casement was captured; Monteith escaped. A German ship, the *Aud*, carrying arms for the rebels, was intercepted by a British cruiser, the *Bluebell*, who ordered the *Aud* to accompany her to Queenstown. At Queenstown the *Aud* was blown up and sunk by her Commander, Karl Spindler. The *Aud*, it is interesting to note, was originally the *Castro* of Hull, a Wilson liner captured early in the War and renamed first *Libau*, then *Aud*.

The rebellion broke out in Dublin on Easter Monday, the 24th April, 1916—a day after the scheduled time. It was suppressed upon the 1st May, when the rebels surrendered. On the 24th April—as arranged between the German Government and the Sinn Fein leaders—a Zeppelin raid was made on East Anglia. On the 25th April a German naval raid was made on Lowestoft and Yarmouth, and a Zeppelin raid on Essex and Kent.

The foregoing documents show only the development of the German ingredient in the plot, and it is necessary to return to a consideration of the secret decisions of the Irish Republican Brotherhood before the complex history of Easter Week, 1916, can be followed out.

In the autumn of 1914, the I.R.B., whose organisation since the early 'nineties had been functioning without a Military Committee such as

was provided for under their Constitution, re-established their Military Committee ostensibly as appointed by the Irish Volunteers. The three original members were Patrick Pearse, Eamon Kent and Joseph Plunkett ; later on Tom Clarke and Sean McDermott, who were at this time members of the executive of the I.R.B., were also co-opted to membership of the Military Committee which also was extended to include James Conolly, of the Citizen Army, and Thomas MacDonagh.

The preponderance of I.R.B. members thus gave the Brotherhood absolute control of those Volunteers who were in the MacNeill's following of the Irish Volunteers, of the distinct Sinn Fein group who were neither MacNeills nor Redmondite, and of the Citizen Army.

In January, 1916, the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., with only one dissentient, voted that an open insurrection should be carried out in the immediate future, and in this connection it is worth noting that a proposal of this nature which had been put forward to the Council of the Irish Volunteers with the knowledge of the British authorities had been rejected as premature in early 1915.

The Executive of the Irish Volunteers was, with few exceptions, entirely composed of I.R.B. men, and they were ordered through the I.R.B. to obey the orders of only Pearse, MacDonagh, Lynch, MacDermott and other I.R.B. leaders who were controlling the Irish Volunteer Executive. The President of the Irish Volunteers, Professor Eoin MacNeill, was not a member of the I.R.B., and was only half in the secret of the promised landing of

arms, in that, though he knew that the arms were to be landed, he did not know that the secret societies had also determined to rise in open insurrection at one and the same time or that the arms ship was then off the coast.

It is evident that there was considerable friction within the body of the I.V. between members who were I.R.B. and others who were not. Pearse, who was responsible for the mobilisation scheme of the rebellion, issued his orders for the rising (which was to take place on Easter Sunday, April 23rd) on Wednesday, April 19th, and delegated certain commands, not to the appropriate Volunteer officers in the provinces but to junior men who were members of the I.R.B. The issue of these orders was unknown to MacNeill, but was revealed to him by a man who was later made a prisoner by the Brotherhood. MacNeill, acting in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief, issued immediate orders countermanding the mobilisation, of whose real purpose, it is claimed, he was still ignorant. Pearse did not learn of this action of MacNeill's till late on Thursday, the 20th. On Friday MacDonagh and McDermott made the situation clear to MacNeill, who immediately resigned and abandoned control of the Volunteers to the members of the Military Committee of the I.R.B.

On the same Friday, Casement was captured after landing from the submarine, and on the next day news of this event and the sinking of the arms ship, the *Aud*, reached, not the members of the Military Committee, but MacNeill, whose resignation was not generally known. MacNeill did not inform the I.R.B. members, but

immediately re-assumed command and again sent out orders countermanding the whole of the projected arrangements for the Easter "manœuvres." News of this did not reach the I.R.B. till late on Easter Saturday—and the members of the Military Committee could not be gathered together. On Sunday morning the full Council met at Liberty Hall, and in a state of considerable agitation. Pearse succeeded in inducing them not to put off the plan because the arms ship had miscarried, but to cancel the orders for the Sunday and issue orders to carry out the mobilisation as arranged for Easter Sunday on the following day, Easter Monday.

The closing of the telegraph offices hampered the execution of the plan, but despatches were sent off that night to the provinces; but in order to prevent betrayal, these orders to "Carry on" were not issued to the Dublin commandants, De Valera, Daly, and others who were not members of the Military Committee although of the Brotherhood, until the Monday morning.

This alternation of conflicting orders (*a*) to mobilise, (*b*) not to mobilise, (*c*) cancellation of orders, (*d*) not to mobilise on Sunday, but to mobilise on Monday, meant that many commandants disregarded the last set of orders and that bodies of men who had collected once again dispersed, with the result that the actual rising on Monday in Dublin was delayed several hours by the non-mobilisation of units who had been expected to be in their position at a given hour. As a result, the initial step on which all the remainder depended, the seizure of the Dublin

Post Office, was not carried out until past ten o'clock.

The rising was not expected by the authorities, who knew of the fate of the arms ship and deemed MacNeill's orders, cancelling the parades, tantamount to a declaration that the scheme was off. The Military Committee of the I.R.B., who decided to fight on such a hopeless issue, were forced to this decision not only by the vehemence of Pearse, who had a mystic's crazy idea that martyrdom was necessary to launch the rebellion, but by the certainty that the authorities would know enough about their projects for Eastertide to seize their stores of arms and break up their organisation. Therefore, the decision was taken that even a hopeless rebellion was better than loss of dignity and personal renown. Accordingly, the whole affair was carried out without thought for the disasters which would befall their unarmed colleagues in the provinces if the latter carried out their part of the plan, and it furnishes another interesting example of Irish mentality.

The opening of the rising was signalised by the posting of proclamations which had already been distributed throughout the country to centres of the I.R.B. The proclamation ran as follows :—

"POBLACHT NA H'EIREANN.

The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic.
To the People of Ireland.

"Irishmen and Irishwomen.—In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old traditions of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for freedom.

"Having organised and trained her manhood through the secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican

Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers, and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first place on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

"We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people . . . .

"The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien Government, which have divided a minority from a majority in the past" . . . .

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government,

T. J. Clarke.	T. MacDonagh.
S. MacDiarmada.	E. Ceannt.
J. Conolly.	J. Plunkett.

P. H. Pearse was not only Commander-in-Chief of the rebels, but also President of the Provisional Government.

The full story of this rebellion has been told elsewhere ; * suffice it here to state that martial law was immediately proclaimed and troops were concentrated on Dublin, which was isolated for five days. On the 29th April, Pearse, the rebel

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* *The Administration of Ireland*, 1920, by "I.O."

leader, sent a Red-Cross nurse to ask for terms and was told that only unconditional surrender would be accepted. At 2 p.m. he surrendered unconditionally and was brought before General Sir John Maxwell, when he sent out orders for the leaders and men who survived in the various commandoes to surrender unconditionally. On the 30th, MacDonagh, who had refused to obey Pearse's orders, also surrendered, but for some nights afterwards snipers fired on the troops. The casualties of the rebellion were as follows :—

Crown forces ...	Killed, 132 ;	wounded,	397
Rebels and Civilians	,, 318 ;	,,	2,197

The signatories to the Proclamation—Pearse, MacDonagh, Kent, Plunkett, Clarke, Conolly and McDermott were executed, as were also Edward Daly, William Pearse, Cornelius Colbert, J. J. Heuston, Michael O'Hannahan, John McBride, Michael Mallin (the latter second-in-command of the Citizen Army, which only numbered some 120 in all) and Thomas Kent.

Ninety death sentences were imposed, but only fifteen were carried out, the remainder being amnestied in the following year. The consequences of this policy of leniency are to be seen in the later history of Ireland.

CHAPTER XI

Sinn Fein

The first emotions aroused in Ireland by the rebellion were hostile to the rebels, who were publicly condemned and repudiated by all respectable parties. This phase did not, however, last long, and the execution of the leaders effected a complete reversal of public opinion.

Irish sentiment has never been in favour of any legal manifestation, and the delays which took place while the rebel leaders were being—in their own interests—tried by court-martial saw a complete reversal of popular sympathy. The slow legal process and the slow trickle of executions gave ample opportunity for the whole machinery of the I.R.B. to call to its aid that torrent of sentimentality which is so typical of the Irish public. From being criminals the revolutionaries became martyrs. In a moment their cruel murder of unarmed soldiers, harmless old veterans and unarmed members of the police forces were forgotten, and these degraded traitors who had risen in alliance with Germany to stab Britain, and, through Britain, the Allies, in the back, were hailed as heroes—by the Irish.

A more important circumstance was that the rebellion was hailed by the Press of the world, not as a Fenian or I.R.B. rising, but as a " Sinn

Fein Rebellion." This set the seal of popularity on the little-known movement of Sinn Fein. The people, avid of every detail concerning the criminals who had paid the extreme penalty, sought in the writings of the Sinn Fein party the clue to what the 'martyrs' did and thought; thus the doctrines of Sinn Fein became a subject of passionate discussion all over Ireland, and a vast mass of people who had not been heretofore infected began to realise that a considerable body of men had deemed it possible to secure the independence of Ireland by physical force, coupled with a policy of passive resistance and a complete abandonment of the existing Parliamentary mechanism for achieving Home Rule. Pearse's theory of blood-sacrifice was therefore correct.

In particular the Sinn Fein movement made sudden great headway in the ranks of the younger priesthood,* and it was current gossip at the time that some sections of the Church held participation in the rebellion to have been sinful, whereas another section, notably backed by Irish members of the Society of Jesus, contested that the ideal which animated the revolutionaries gave moral sanction to their actions.

The rebellion threw into relief the necessity of finding, if possible, some solution of the Home Rule problem, and a more or less abortive conference was held. The power of the I.R.B. was desperately circumscribed by the pressure of martial law measures, and the organisation, which,

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* *The Administration of Ireland*, 1920, by 'I.O.,' pages 44, 49, 53, 54, 57.

by its very nature, is extremely vulnerable at its head, was largely paralysed by the loss of its Military Committee and by the imprisonment of several members of the Executive and numerous minor lights.

The general condition of tumult and confusion, the astonishingly successful isolation of the country, are shown in the following letter which was enclosed in a German despatch of July 14th.*

Despatch in envelope addressed :
Mr. H. Eisenhuth,
5, Stationsvej, Gentofte, Copenhagen.
Per S.S. *Frederick VIII.*
Postmark : New York, July 25th, 1916.
Rye, New York, July 14th, 1916.
A. 349.
Contents : *Ireland and Sir Roger Casement.*

In continuation of report A. 315 of 16th June, 1916, copy of a letter which has arrived from Ireland by messenger is sent herewith.

The news which it contains is supplemented by the following verbal reports :—

All the available indications point to the fact that information about the project of landing arms in Ireland reached London from New York, or more probably, perhaps, Washington.

For several months the West coast of Ireland had been quite unwatched, when, on the (Wednesday) before Easter (Herr von Igel's papers came into the hands of the State Attorney on ? Tuesday), all at once the order arrived to send out all available ships to watch for a German steamer.

The steamer with the arms had entered Tralee Bay on the evening of Thursday, but had turned back, not finding anyone to whom to deliver the cargo. On Friday she again put in, and was stopped by the patrol-boat, *Bluebell*, whereupon she was sunk by the crew. It must be assumed that the steamer had not received the instructions not to proceed in until early on Saturday. In view of this

* *Documents relative to the Sinn Fein movement*, p. 18, *et seq.*

mistake, the circumstance becomes (? explicable) that the leader MacNeill put off the rising which had been arranged for Easter Saturday, as the letter shows.

It has become apparent that Casement cherished the conviction that foreigners were indiscreet, and he alone, by his personal influence, could bring about the liberation of his country. He seems, in fact, to have credited himself with supernatural powers.

He sent orders to MacNeill by a (messenger) that the rising must wait till he (Casement) had arrived in Dublin or London. (Consequently), at the moment when the rising could no longer be postponed, there were only 1,500 instead of the expected 5,000 men available, and the reinforcements which hurried up from the other parts of the town and suburbs could not get a chance to take part in the fighting. Had 5,000 men been available, the Castle and harbour could have been seized, and the latter kept under control. In that case, the insurgents might well have been able to hold out for several weeks.

According to further reports, the work of reorganisation had already begun. Two members of the old Central Committee have so far not been arrested, and are apparently not even suspected.

They have, along with some of the energetic (younger) men, undertaken the task of reorganisation, and are making good progress.

They report that the number of sympathisers with the Insurrection has multiplied tenfold, and that they have enough men available to make possible another attempt at any time.

Also that they have succeeded in procuring large supplies of arms and munitions.

The lack of money has already been supplied from here.

In the near future the Committee here will proceed to Ireland, taking with them the money which has been collected for the poor, and will then be in a position to get more accurate information.

This latter Committee relates not to the Clan-na-Gael, but to its off-shoot or open organisation, the *Friends of Irish Freedom*, and demonstrates how the Irish-American organisations prostitute the

name of Charity by sending 'Relief' or similar 'Commissions' whose real purpose is to foster sedition and finance murder.*

The enclosure was as follows :—

Enclosure. Letter received June 30th, 1916.

Ourselves ! Ourselves !

First about press. It is under control of authority and not a single word in the papers can be relied on. I am despatching copy of order sent to all editors. Someone got some printed for distribution to country (R.D.C.'s, etc.) ; second copy for American consumption. We know feeling America is good because we hear nothing about it and censorship is so strict. Let John Devoy and others know that all chief men of Dublin who were not shot are in prison ; the prominent men of count (ies) also. The fact that very few count (ies) were in the rising did not prevent wholesale arrests. We want American friends to understand what happened and take Cork as fairly typical example ; Cork men were out, as arranged, for manœuvres on Easter Sunday ; county was regularly linked up, men in trim for anything. Orders came while they were out cancelling all arrangements. Weather was atrocious and as nothing could be gained by staying out all night in the open, men disappointed returned to their districts Sunday night. Some men did not get home till Tuesday morning. Meanwhile the two chief officers had been making a tour of inspection all through the country by automobile. Only commander returned to Cork Monday night. Monday afternoon he got the news from Dublin that the rising was to commence there at noon and an order signed by Pearse for Cork to join in. It was late Monday evening before other staff officers got word. Mobilisation was out of question that night and by Tuesday morning city was surrounded on all sides. The men could not have got out if they had had munition in tons and guns in hundreds, which they had not. It seemed to us here that Dublin had made criminal mistake. We have since learned that it was " Come out and fight or be disarmed

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* 'The White Cross' Society of 1920–21 was a kindred organisation.

on Tuesday morning." But we did not know at the time.

We still think that Inner Council were not justified in keeping MacNeill in dark so long. I cannot go into that now. Provinces wished not to be left out of affair, but there certainly was regrettable disregard of provincial conditions on the part of Dublin. Dublin was well supplied with arms, munitions, provinces not; Dublin had been told that without arms, etc., we could do nothing. I have only written that to explain why so few counties were "out."

It is the present state of affairs I want to deal with. Then opinions there were divided; practically the whole country is right now.

There are exceptions—the usual Shoneen (*sic*) place-hunting crowd—but the shooting of leaders—the wholesale arrests all over the country—the shocking prison treatment and the continuance of martial law, have acted as a tonic, and as a quondam Imperialist said to me a short time ago, "We are all Sinn Feiners now." In beginning, the week after the rising, all the councils protested horror of Dublin business and loyalty, etc. However, their tune is changing and they are resolving against present regime. No parades of volunteers are allowed.

The organisation is supposed dead, but they are keeping in touch with each other and their spirit is excellent. Very few arms have been given up in the country and no munitions. In Limerick they gave all up, however, they were not sufficiently armed to be effective. Though many arms are hidden safely, there are not sufficient for future offence, unless supplemented.

You can realise that we are not cowed down from the fact that they contemplate giving a "measure of Home Rule" at once. Here is a grave danger. Martial Law reigns here. We are not allowed to hold any political meetings to protest against partition of Ulster. The Irish party have accepted it as a compromise—to agree to exclusion of six counties. The country is totally opposed to it, but, owing to Martial Law cannot make itself heard. Redmond says the arrangement is until after the War. Ulster says the exclusion is permanent, and will only agree on that understanding. We believe both Asquith and Lord French wished to get permission

to apply conscription in exchange, and Redmond would gladly give it if he dared. But that won't work. Another thing we would like you to know. There was an agent from G here—is in country at present, who has been sent over to find out the real state of feeling in Ireland and also to learn what probability there is of large number of recruits from Ireland. The English as fighters do not seem to appeal to them. He is interrogating the prison men, but, N.B., his introductions are from the B. Govt. and the Irish party probably. We only heard accidentally through someone in touch with authority that he has been in the country. He got into touch with no one in Volunteer circles in country. That much I can say for certain. One thing is certain, recruiting for the British Army is dead in Ireland. I doubt if they have got half a dozen in country since Easter. Our present position is this : There is not a leader left. The men are there and the women too, full of spirit, but all the real brains of organisation are dead or locked up. Any one who could voice the desires of country to be represented at Peace Conference is not here to do it. No papers are allowed, no speeches, even if the men were there to write or make them. When it became clear that Dublin would have to surrender, Tom Clarke drew a certain person in Post Office aside and confessed the whole inner history of business to that person. Sean MacDermott also made a statement before he died. Naturally it is not safe to write these things, but the summary is there for later on. Tom Clarke, who was a very great friend of ours, had had many intimate talks with me and had told me of certain documents in our favour. I do not want to particularise more than that, but John Devoy will understand. What we need now is to get in touch with America if possible. The Home Rule move is sinister. If England can represent Ireland as contented with Home Rule, we may be lost at Conference, or worse still, if she has to let Ireland be represented at Peace Conference, she may have Redmond, Prime Minister of New Home Rule Parliament, to represent us. Better Martial Law and General Maxwell. Hence we want you all to realise that the political wires are being pulled on all sides to get the papers to approve the exclusion of Ulster. Corruption is rife, and every effort is being made to do the deed. The *Cork Examiner's* leader to-day

would make you simply sick. We are hoping that one or two of our own have succeeded in getting across the (Atlantic) and will have told details. I suppose over there you have heard the story that Casement landed too soon in order to stop the rising and after he was arrested asked for priest to whom he gave the warning for the I.V.'s. I hope this will be clear. If you get it you will realise that paper had to be scanty and the writing cramped. Tell John Devoy and the Clan-na-Gael that our hearts are full of courage, but we cannot count on them to help us. An autonomous Ireland at close of War we must have. If they could only be here to see the stupidity and general ineptitude of our British masters, they would realise that England is almost done for. The English atrocities committed in Dublin were worse than any the English said the Germans committed anywhere. And all are not known. We grieve for the death of our gallant men, many of whom cannot be replaced in generations, but as most of them said when dying: 'Our death will win the country and save its soul.' That has been accomplished. They are our last martyrs, and all the fury of Government of Maxwell cannot stop the public appreciation of them. Their portraits are selling by thousands everywhere. True, the soul of country has been saved at a heavy cost; but think of the regime under which we have been living for the past hundred years. It was specially aimed at killing our national soul and the wonder is that we have any soul to be saved. None but the Gael, the unconquerable Gael, would have a trace of nationality left. At any rate the end is not. We shall come to our own, but let our fine countrymen over there remember our leaders are gone. The brains of organisation are mostly locked up, and they must supply our wants. "Ireland at home looks to Ireland in America to answer the call." This is an Irish reading of recruiting poster. (End.)

From May to September the Irish-Americans wrangled over the debatable issue whether the denunciation of the arms ship came from American sources or not. Devoy himself inclined to the

latter belief, as many incriminating memoranda concerning his activities and those of Judge Cohalan were secured by the American agents who raided von Igel's bureau. By September they had promoted the outline scheme of a new rising which was, however, to be dependent on a landing not only of arms but of armed forces by the Germans. The latter, however, only offered to supply two cargo vessels laden with 30,000 rifles, 10 machine-guns and 6,000,000 rounds, and refused to send men. This offer the Clan declined on the ground that, without the moral and technical support of trained German troops, it would be useless.

In December, 1916, the Asquith Ministry fell, and the Lloyd George Coalition succeeded it. An immediate attempt to conciliate Irish opinion followed. The rebels, with the exception of some who had been sentenced to penal servitude, were released on Christmas Eve, and this step was immediately construed by the revolutionists as an admission of weakness on the part of the English. By February, 1917, Sinn Fein propaganda was in full blast again.

For six months the position was that of a political duel between the old Home Rule party and the new Sinn Fein party, which now, for the first time, showed itself able to win bye-elections. On June 17th, the remainder of the political prisoners, that is to say, those who were serving sentences of penal servitude, were released. Among them was Eamon De Valera, who had commanded one of the Dublin units of the Irish Volunteers and who was the most eminent survivor of the little group

of I.R.B. leaders. Within a month he was elected leader of the new Sinn Fein party.

Events in America had followed an almost parallel course. On the 18th January, 1917, the official Sinn Fein organisation in America was launched from the offices of the Friends of Irish Freedom ; James Larkin, the labour revolutionary, Peter Golden, 'Captain' Monteith and other prominent Irish-Americans became leaders of the movement, which was under the usual auspices—those of the Clan.

Liam Mellowes and Patrick McCartan, who had escaped after the rising and had been for some time in America, and one or two female relations of executed rebels were formed into a lecture staff for the purpose of "organising" the F.I.F. and Sinn Fein among the Irish-American communities. Later in 1917 McCartan was nominated as "Envoy of the Provisional Government of Ireland" and became chief accredited Sinn Fein agent.

In the meantime, Ambassador Bernstorff had been handed his passports, and America was slowly but surely coming into the war, an event which occurred on the 4th of April, 1917. McCartan, Mellowes, Lawrence de Lacy, and other Irish and Irish-Americans continued to conspire with German agents and were eventually imprisoned in October.*

The entry of America into the War embarrassed the leaders of the Clan, who endeavoured to oppose the draft law for recruiting in the States and who also materially helped the German Intelligence Department. They and the I.R.B.

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* *Documents relative to Sinn Fein*, p. 28.

in Ireland were potentially active in aiding the German submarine war against Allied andAmerican transport.

The centre of gravity in so far as the German-Irish rebellion plot was concerned, was, however, now transferred from the United States to Spain, whence channels of communication led to South America and so back to the Clan-na-Gael.*

The British, being aware of what was going on, decided to disarm the National Redmondite Volunteers who had not taken part in the rebellion and who had, indeed, aided in its suppression. It was a move determined not by reference to the complex Irish political situation, but by the necessity of enforcing a disarmament of all elements in Ireland whose loyalty was doubtful or whose arms could fall into bad hands.

On the 15th August all armouries were raided and a policy of raiding for arms was instituted by the military.

On October 27th, 1917, a Sinn Fein Convention was held at the Mansion House, Dublin, at which De Valera was appointed President in place of Arthur Griffiths, who had held the office for seven years. The latter became Vice-President, and, in his address after the election, De Valera stated :—

" The constitution of the new movement which you have adopted says this organisation of Sinn Fein aims at securing the international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic."

From now onwards the identity of Sinn Fein with revolutionary Republicanism was admitted and

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* *Documents*, etc., p. 35.

embodied in the published *Constitution of Sinn Fein*, of which extracts are as follows :—

CUMANN SINN FEIN.

Constitution.

Whereas the people of Ireland never relinquished the claim to separate Nationhood, and

Whereas the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, Easter, 1916, in the name of the Irish people and continuing the fight made by previous generations, re-asserted the inalienable right of the Irish Nation to Sovereign Independence, and re-affirmed the determination of the Irish people to achieve it : and

Whereas the Proclamation of an Irish Republic, Easter, 1916, and the supreme courage and glorious sacrifices of the men who gave their lives to maintain it, have united the people of Ireland under the flag of the Irish Republic, be it Resolved, that we, the delegated representatives of the Irish people, in Convention assembled, hereby declare the following to be the Constitution of Sinn Fein :—

1. The name of this organisation shall be *Sinn Fein*.

2. Sinn Fein aims at securing the International recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic.

Having achieved that status, the Irish people may, by referendum, freely choose their own form of government.

3. This object shall be attained through the Sinn Fein Organisation which shall, in the name of the Sovereign Irish people :—

(*a*) Deny the right and oppose the will of the British Parliament and British Crown or any other foreign government to legislate for Ireland :

(*b*) Make use of any and every means available to render impotent the power of England to hold Ireland in subjection by military force or otherwise.

4. Whereas no law made without the authority and consent of the Irish people is or ever can be binding on their conscience,

Therefore, in accordance with the Resolution of

Sinn Fein adopted in Convention, 1905, a Constituent Assembly shall be convoked, comprising persons chosen by the Irish Constituencies as the supreme National authority to speak and act in the name of the Irish people and to devise and formulate measures for the welfare of the whole people of Ireland.

Extract from Scheme of Organisation.

The Sinn Fein organisation shall include a President, two Vice-Presidents, two Hon. Secretaries, two Hon. Treasurers, four National Trustees, an annual Ard-Fheis, an Ard-Chomhairle (with its standing committee), comhairle, ceantair and cumann.

Membership shall be open to all adults of Irish birth or parentage, irrespective of sex, class or creed, who accept the constitution of Sinn Fein—save that no member of the British armed forces, nor pensioner thereof, nor any person who has taken an oath of allegiance to the British Government shall be eligible so long as he retains the office or position involving that oath.

At the Convention of Volunteers which was held in a large store in Dublin on the same day, October 27th, 1917, after the Mansion House meeting, De Valera stated his policy with regard to physical force.

"By proper organisation and recruiting we could have 500,000 fighting volunteers in Ireland. That would be a big army, but, without the opportunity and the means of fighting, it could only be used as a menace. There has already been too much bloodshed without success, we can see no hope of that in the near future, except through a German invasion of England and the landing of troops and munitions in Ireland. We must be prepared to leave nothing undone towards that end."

He further said :—

"There never will be peace in Ireland until we have got the independence. When the war is over, England will be tottering. The Allies cannot win. All nations at the Peace Conference will claim their right to the Freedom of the Seas, and Ireland is of such international

importance in that respect that her claim must be admitted. We want an Army to back up our claim . . . The volunteer organisation must be a distinct body as regards control, finance, etc., but it will be part of the Sinn Fein organisation in its fight for freedom.

"Should the war end immediately, and our case not be considered by the Allied nations, we will carry on the fight, and what we cannot procure now, we can get after the war. We want an army and we will have it."

The Sinn Fein decided to do all in their power to prevent Irish food surpluses becoming available for the nutrition of the British Army or civil population, or for Allied forces in the field. Thus plans were concerted both by Sinn Fein and by the Irish Labour party for joint opposition to both conscription and food export. The following memorandum indicates the conditions which would in greater or less degree have followed, had there been any endeavour to force the Irish to fight.

MEMORANDUM BY LABOUR REPRESENTATIVES.

1. In the event of conscription being applied, the present recruiting areas will probably be retained and the inhabitants of these areas divided into Classes and Grades as in Great Britain. It will be the object of the Army Authorities to break up the National Unity against Conscription. To this end certain areas may be attacked first. Within those areas certain trades or occupations will be exempted, unmarried men only will be called upon, and of these possibly none over a certain age.

To meet this plan of campaign, we suggest :—

(1) On the *first definite announcement of the enforcement of the Act in any area*, the whole country must take action. Measures must be devised to ensure that if, *e.g.*, Dublin Area is proclaimed as an area to be conscribed, all other areas must act together, just as they would if they were the first to be called upon.

To meet the probability that conscripted areas will be isolated so that communications between districts will be

difficult and travel only by permit allowed, a special organisation for each area coterminous with the military area should be arranged. A director of small executive committee, in touch with the Conference, having knowledge of the main lines of policy determined upon by the Conference, but with full power to act within their area, should be appointed. Means of communication between the Conference and the District Executive to be immediately arranged. District Executives in turn to arrange communication within their areas.

PLAN of ACTION to be ADOPTED IMMEDIATELY the ORDER in COUNCIL is " LAID ON THE TABLE."

(1) *Withdrawal of Bank Deposits.*

Merchants, farmers, shopkeepers, clergy and all classes to withdraw funds from the banks. By such all banking authorities including North of Ireland and London would be stimulated to bring pressure upon the Government to withhold the Proclamation. New and powerful anti-conscription influences would thereby be brought into operation.

(2) *Stoppage of Railway Traffic.*

Railway workers to be called upon to cease work for a definite period, say a week or a fortnight.

The Military would thereupon take possession of the Railway system and run the necessary trains. Steps could be taken to make the efficient working by the military very difficult.

(3) *General Stoppage of Work.*

All postal officials, civil service clerks, *police* and all city and town workers to be called upon to " down tools." (Simultaneously with this, efforts should be made to make the position clear to the men in the army with a view to " sympathetic action.")

The object of these proposals is :—

(*a*) To divert attention from the area chosen for conscription, to ensure united national action and prevent a division of interests.

(*b*) To demonstrate to the world that the nation is united in its resolve to resist at any cost.

(*c*) To make as difficult as possible the government of the country by military force. If police and civil servants can be persuaded to act with the people, the battle will be won. On behalf of the people the Conference should promise that all the force of the nation will be used to secure re-instatement without penalties of all civil servants after the struggle.

(*d*) To act strongly in the hope that a sympathetic reaction will take place amongst the Irish population in industrial Britain.

Food Harvest.

Farmers and dealers should be warned against sending any grain, roots, pork or live stock to market for shipment out of the country. Grain should be kept in stack as long as possible so as to render commandeering more difficult.

The country must aim at supplying home needs, not to ship food while the crisis lasts. We do not suggest this as a permanent policy, but we must use the most effective economic weapon we have, quietly, without advertising our purpose.

(Conference should consider proposal to issue licences to dealers who will guarantee to trade only for home consumption.)

Dublin Food Supply.

This presents a serious difficulty. If Dublin were proclaimed a conscripted area and there ensued armed opposition, a ruthless example would be made of the city by the military, a state of siege set up and the opposition overborne by force and starvation. No prolonged resistance can be made by armed action in the city.

The alternative is a *united passive resistance.*

For a week no work to be done except the conveyance of food. Men of military age to remain indoors, men who are 'taken' to be taken singly—not to allow themselves to be rounded up in groups as would happen if they gathered together in public places.

Passive resistance imposes upon the Government the responsibility of keeping up food supplies; they dare not starve the city in these circumstances. Supplies would probably continue to come in by the sea. In addition to these we must count on the likelihood that the G.N. Ry. would not be stopped completely. We should, therefore,

take advantage of this and make arrangements for the transport of food by the Gt. Northern line into the city. The County Louth Committee might well be called upon to make provision for sending in supplies by rail of potatoes, grain, vegetables and milk.

Within the city an authority should be set up to be responsible for the distribution of food on a rationing system. The farmers in County Dublin must be called upon to keep the City supplied as far as possible—outside the ordinary business methods. The Conference should be ready with a requisitioning scheme to issue receipts for supplies sent forward, the farmers to have confidence that the nation will honour these receipts and pay for the goods when the battle is over. Without sacrifice and confidence we will go under.

Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Derry and the larger towns may follow on similar lines, but must trust to the road traffic from surrounding districts for the supplies—rail traffic will be interrupted.

Arrested men will probably be shipped across to England —if passenger vessels are used, sailors must be induced to cease work—the alternative is to use warships for the conveyance of conscript prisoners. This cannot be countered by any action within our power. But the men to be conscripted must be informed before of a plan of action, how to act before Court-martial, their rights as prisoners, etc. Concerted action by a large number of men will strain, probably break, the military machine. If the King's Regulations and Military Law, which have been evolved without thought of the possibility of the mutiny of a whole army, are to be altered to meet the exceptional circumstances, *i.e.*, if soldiers are to be deprived of their rights to trial according to a definite procedure, the alteration must be made (1) to meet the specific cases of mutinous Irish conscripts, which could not take place without calling for world-wide attention or (2) the alteration and deprivation of rights must be applicable to the Army as a whole, which would inevitably provoke trouble throughout the service.

Legal Position.

It is suggested that Committees invite local Solicitors to qualify themselves to deal with cases under military law.

To assist in this, a conference of Solicitors should be held at an early date in Dublin when questions of the legal position of the Conscripts, rights under Court-martial, Defence of the Realm Acts, etc., might be discussed and a course of action be indicated by specialists on these matters.

Printing.

In view of the difficulty of getting printing firms to undertake the work that may be necessary, Conference should obtain possession of a printing press, or at least a duplicating machine for copying typewritten matter.

In the meantime communication was kept up by the Irish with German submarines, and small batches of arms were landed. The collapse of Russia and the rise of the Soviet Republic also attracted the attention of the revolutionaries, and during the year McCartan, the envoy of Sinn Fein to the U.S. Government—who did not recognise him, attempted to cross to Stockholm to attend the Stockholm Conference. He was, however, arrested and detained in the U.S.A.

The Spring of 1918 was memorable for the last great German drive against the Allies. All depended on man-power and to that end Germany once more agreed to supply arms for a revolution in Ireland, which would contain and detain a number of British troops needed at the front.

On the 16th April a German U-boat was sighted in the vicinity of the Kish lightship in Dublin Bay, and two men, named Robert and James Cotter, who were Sinn Feiners—one of them a brother-in-law of De Valera—were intercepted at 4 a.m. next morning in a sailing boat off Kingstown. They were prosecuted and convicted for violating Admiralty Regulations. There was

reason to believe they were communicating with the submarine.*

In April, 1918, it was definitely ascertained that the plan for landing arms in Ireland was ripe for execution, and that the Germans only awaited definite information from Ireland arranging the time, place and date. The British authorities were able to warn the Irish Command regarding the probable landing from a submarine of the German agent, Dowling, who was arrested on the 12th April, as above stated.

The plans for the new rising depended largely on the disembarkation of munitions from submarines, and it was designed to follow on the anticipated success of the great German offensive in France. On the 4th May, 1918, His Majesty's Government received information that on the evening of the 26th of April, 1918, seven closed railway cars had arrived at Cuxhaven and were run alongside two submarines; the contents of the trucks—rifles and machine-guns—were transferred to the submarines. These consignments did not arrive in Ireland.

On the 17th and 18th May, 1918, De Valera and a large number of the other prominent leaders of sedition in Ireland were arrested and held interned until after the victory of the Allies had been secured. De Valera and some others escaped from custody in the spring of 1919, the rest were all released from internment in March, 1919.†

The sinister action of the revolutionaries in

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* *Documents*, p. 41.
† *Documents*, p. 43.

preparing for another rising was contemporary with a move against conscription, not by one group of political parties, but by the whole body of the Catholic Hierarchy in Ireland. It should be noted that such a thing as a 'Conscientious Objector' was almost unknown among English Roman Catholics (with the possible exception of one Meynell, who later became identified with a Bolshevik attempt to subsidise *The Daily Herald*); and the distinction which exists between English Roman Catholics, who are among the most loyal people in the Empire, and Irish Catholics, cannot be too strongly emphasised.

A Conference of Sinn Fein, the Irish Labour party, and the Parliamentary Home Rule party was held on the 18th May, and issued the following :—

"Taking our stand on Ireland's separate and distinct nationhood, and affirming the principles of liberty that the Governments of nations derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, we deny the right of the British Government or any external authority to impose compulsory service in Ireland against the clearly-expressed will of the Irish people. The passing of the Conscription Bill by the House of Commons must be regarded as a declaration of war on the Irish nation. The alternative to accepting it as such is to surrender our liberties and to acknowledge ourselves slaves. It is in direct violation of the rights of small nationalities to self-determination which even the Prime Minister of England—now preparing to employ naked militarism and force his Act upon Ireland—himself officially announced as an essential condition for peace at the Peace Congress. The attempt to enforce it will be an unwarrantable aggression which we call upon all Irishmen to resist by the most effective means at their disposal."

The Conference, despite this declaration of moral

principles, evidently felt some doubt about the moral law, and asked for the co-operation of the Irish Catholic Bishops who had been summoned to Maynooth by Cardinal Logue.

The Bishop issued the following manifesto :—

" An attempt is being made to enforce conscription on Ireland against the will of the Irish nation and in defiance of the protests of its leaders. In view especially of the historic relations between the two countries from the very beginning up to this moment, we consider that conscription forced in this way upon Ireland is an oppressive and inhuman law which the Irish have a right to resist by every means that are consonant with the law of God . . . . "

This manifesto sealed the alliance between Sinn Fein and the Irish Catholic Hierarchy, and at the same time abandoned to a potentially successful Germany those other Catholics in Belgium, France and the United States, to whom appeals on behalf of " poor ill-treated Catholic Ireland " have been liberally made by Irish propagandists since.

The resistance to conscription counselled by the Bishops was founded on their acceptance of the Sinn Fein party's claim of the distinct nationality of Ireland as an entity without the bonds of Empire. Nothing can palliate it and nothing has so besmirched the loyalty of the whole body of Roman Catholics within the Empire. In the minds of the lowly Irish and those of their scantily-educated priests, it set the seal of religion on opposition to the law.

Autumn of 1918 saw the catastrophic defeat of the Central Empires and destroyed the last hope of German aid for Ireland. And so to the Irish revolutionaries the victory of the Allies seemed nothing but defeat. The General Election of 1918

saw seventy-three victorious Sinn Fein candidates, the majority of whom were or had been imprisoned, returned out of the total of 106 Irish constituencies. Their method of pressing Ireland's claim to consideration was to abstain from taking their seats at Westminster. The British public, disgusted by the Irish national conduct throughout the War, paid not the slightest attention to this development of a long-forgotten Hungarian's policy, and Ireland's claim to be represented at the Peace Conference of the victors in the War which she had consistently repudiated, was contemptuously rejected by the Allies.

CHAPTER XII

The I.R.B. and the I.R.A.

The year 1919 shows us a period of incubation during which the policy of the secret societies and Sinn Fein in general underwent certain developments. The long-hoped-for war between England and Germany which, as we have shown, had been foreseen from 1910 by the leaders of the Irish revolutionaries, had brought its opportunities, but had not brought about the realisation of the dream of an Irish Republic. Germany had gone down in disaster, and Sinn Fein, despite its meaning of 'Ourselves alone,' had to seek fresh alliances.

In the spring 'President' De Valera and one or two others were helped to escape from prison by the activities of Michael Collins and other members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, who had developed a considerable organisation among Sinn Fein sympathisers and Irish in England. There was no whole-hearted pursuit of De Valera by the authorities, who are never regretful when an Irish political criminal takes flight across the Atlantic. The question of extradition was not even mooted, although in the strict letter of the law De Valera was even more guilty of criminal offence against the Allies and conspiracy with Germany than of a mere political offence.

Events in Irish-American circles before the coming of De Valera had been developing a certain restiveness, and within the world of Irish-Americanism was growing the germ of an organisation which was later to threaten the hitherto unchallenged supremacy of Judge Cohalan and John Devoy, now affectionately known as 'Sean Fear' ('the old man'—but in all truth an 'old man of the mountain' so far as Irish welfare was concerned!). A new figure had sprung up in the shape of ex-Captain Maloney, a neurasthenic Irish-American who had served in the British forces for a while, who had been wounded and who had returned to the States in April, 1917, where he identified himself with Irish politics and declined the honour of a Military Cross which had been awarded him.

Maloney joined the 'Envoy' Dr. McCartan, and soon converted him to his views, which can be briefly explained as the fundamental doctrine that the Irish organisations of Ireland alone had a right to determine their policy and that funds raised in America for the Irish cause should only be administered by the accredited representatives of the Irish people and devoted to policies decided on by them. This, as can be seen, was not only a root blow at the hitherto unchallenged power of Cohalan and Devoy, who as leaders of the Clan were also the political bosses who controlled the Irish vote, but was in essence an assault on the most vulnerable point of all Irish organisations —the disposal of the funds, a matter not usually capable of withstanding a critical audit.

The first open hostility was shown at the

National Council of the Irish Race Convention held on March 12th, 1919, at the Park Hotel, New York. This National Council was a new organisation promoted by the Friends of Irish Freedom and the Clan-na-Gael, in order to repeat the early history of the Land League of America days, when the holding of an Irish Race Convention enabled the Clan to obtain absolute control of the whole network of Irish organisations in the country.

Maloney and McCartan attacked both Cohalan and Devoy, on the ground that their interference with measures presented to the American Congress to assist Irish claims had been inimical to the real interests. They were supported by the Chairman of the meeting, Father Hurton, and by the well-known Joseph McGarrity.

The Devoy-Cohalan group countered with whispered accusations that the ex-Captain Maloney was a British agent, a charge they based later on certain connections Maloney had previously had with Shane Leslie and others who were temporarily connected with British official affairs in the U.S.A.; and later, on April 21st, Devoy attempted to effect a reconciliation with McCartan. Both sides alleged different reasons for the quarrel, but in the main the real issue appears to have been that Cohalan issued a message to the Press which did not mention the Irish Republic in so many words when the announcement was made of the Sinn Fein victory at the polls of the General Election of 1918. A message 'officially' issued by McCartan and phrased by Maloney was thus excluded. The Maloney-McCartan party contested that Cohalan was completely out of touch

with recent developments in Irish politics and still continued to think in terms of the old Nationalist Home Rule party.

De Valera arrived and was everywhere hailed as ' President of the Irish Republic.' For a time he and his Secretary, Harry Boland, were in close touch with both Devoy and Cohalan as well as with McCartan, but the latter group had the greater influence. De Valera's main object was to beg for funds for the Sinn Fein Republic, and for this end a scheme of Irish Republican Bonds was initiated. These Bonds are, incidentally, quite worthless—except from the sentimental point of view.

A great ' Bond Drive ' was organised to extract money from Irish supporters in the States, and the whole organisation of Irish societies was thrown into the fray. By the autumn it was manifest that the collection of funds by various outside Irish societies was encroaching on the ground claimed by the Clan-na-Gael off-shoot, the Friends of Irish Freedom, and in the meantime an obvious rift in the lute had occurred between the parties led by Cohalan and Devoy and the Irish party of De Valera, Boland and McCartan. The prospect of plunder and profit to be derived from the treasure raised by the Bond campaign lent a spur to the efforts of both sides, and by December Irish circles were acidly debating whether or no the bosses of the Irish-American gang were adequately backing up the President of the Irish Republic or whether they were thwarting him.

By December the matter began to come to a head, and at a meeting of the National Council

of the Friends of Irish Freedom on December 10th, 1919, Diarmuid Lynch, then a Sinn Fein M.P., but Secretary to the F.I.F. and a member of the Clan, and Devoy, tackled De Valera,who was present, about it and asked him to make such a speech as would remove any idea that disagreement existed. De Valera made, with considerable reluctance, a speech of evasion and ambiguity, and the situation passed steadily from bad to worse.

A subtle change had come about in the orientation of the two parties; for, whereas McCartan's first attacks on the Clan leaders had been on the ground that they did not sufficiently emphasise the Republicanism of the Sinn Fein party's national claim, we soon find the De Valera group not insisting on that absolute Republicanism voiced uncompromisingly by the extremists of the old Clan-na-Gael and the I.R.B., but taking care to leave open loopholes such as suggestions of a Cuban parallel. There was at this time an evident desire to leave room for compromise—if not on the abstract issue of Republicanism, at least on the very much diluted form it should take. There was, indeed, a whittling away of rigid forms which made it evident that in the last resort the reasons for abandoning claim to a Republican form of government would be far stronger than those for retaining a thin and obstructive ghost of reality as a life and death issue.

There were, however, even deeper issues at stake than this struggle for the money and the domination of the Irish-American interest. The Clan-na-Gael was still the motive power behind the I.R.B. in Ireland, and De Valera's authority and that of the

Dail was being imperilled by unauthorised actions committed by Sinn Feiners who were members of the Brotherhood. A perilous dual control was developing, and Sinn Fein as a whole had rightly become tainted in the eyes of the world by the deeds of the murder gang.

From the time of the Easter Rebellion to January, 1919, there had been no case of outrage committed by the Irish Volunteers against the police. There had been, however, a growing and violently-expressed campaign of incitement against them which was by no means the special work of the secret societies, but a definite part of the agreed Sinn Fein policy of organisation.

Sinn Fein had from the beginning realised that the three obstacles to revolution in Ireland were to be ranked in the following order and had to be regarded as lines of trenches to be captured or demolished before the great Sinn Fein objective could be attained: firstly the Parliamentary position, secondly the Catholic Church, thirdly the Royal Irish Constabulary. They had at last overthrown the whole machine of the old Nationalist party; the Irish Catholic Church had either sold out or surrendered without offering any apparent resistance, and now only the police remained to be conquered.

The R.I. Constabulary was at this time an entirely Irish force, composed mainly of devout Catholics and absolutely loyal to the Government. It has always been an armed force and occupied a position rather different from that of the British Police, in that its members were responsible to a central command and were not essentially county

forces; further it had always devolved on them to see that the law was kept. *The Playboy of the Western World*, by the Irishman, Synge, is perhaps as good a study of the attitude of the Irish people towards crime—and in parenthesis towards those who would prevent the commission of crime—as anybody can want. Suffice it here to say that, owing to the shortcomings of the people, the police in Ireland have had to become not only the enforcers of laws, but the chief agents of prosecution in cases where the laws were not obeyed.*

In the past the relations between the R.I.C. and the people had always been cordial. Service in 'the Force' was the ambition of many of the younger sons of farmers, and the connection between the personnel and the people was intimate. It is probable that the Sinn Feiners thought that a campaign of intimidation, boycotting and cowardly malignant pressure on the relatives of R.I.C. would break the *morale* of the Force. It had exactly the contrary effect; and the Royal Irish

* The criminal statistics of Ireland show a fairly low rate, but unfortunately these figures give no true indication, since they comprise only crimes known to the police. As the bulk of minor delinquency in Ireland is not so reported, these figures are really valueless; the student of criminal statistics, therefore, will be well advised to take figures from either American sources or from a large city like Liverpool, where there is a large Irish population. It may be well to add here that many Irish statistics issued by past Governments as official cannot be depended upon for accuracy; for example, certain agricultural returns, compiled by well-meaning officials, anxious to advertise the well-doing of their districts, have established the fact that the annual return of eggs from those areas could be attained only if all the hens entered on the hen-return laid twice a day!

Constabulary, as a whole, stood the blast without moving an eyelid. Sinn Fein denounced them as traitors to their country, but they were loyal to their King. The Irish have shed many tears over dead malefactors whom they class as martyrs, but if there is one group of men in the world which deserves the eulogies of all brave men, it is the officers and men of the R.I.C.

The prolonged and violent agitation could have but one effect ; sooner or later some of the ' hated police ' would be murdered. Sinn Fein, as a political organisation, cannot avoid or disclaim its responsibility for the shocking murder of many police, and the most personally innocent and merely theoretical supporter of Sinn Fein must bear his or her portion of this collective and shameful blood-guiltiness.

The first armed attack on the police occurred on the 21st January, 1919, at Solo Head Beg, near Tipperary. Two police constables were escorting a cart laden with gelignite, which was required for use in the Solo Head Beg quarries. They were ambushed by a body of six or seven armed men belonging to the local Irish Volunteers and members of one of the Tipperary circles of the I.R.B. The two constables were shot dead, robbed of their arms, and the case of gelignite was stolen. Daniel Breen and John Tracy were the leaders in this and many subsequent outrages, the latter meeting his death at the hands of the Crown forces, being shot dead in Dublin, while Breen, long thought dead, has reappeared as an amnestied and elected representative of the Irish people in their parliament.

This outrage was the first of the type of ambush

which apologists for Sinn Fein later acclaimed as " a legitimate act of guerilla warfare "—oblivious of the fact that ' guerilla ' warfare by *franctireurs* is beyond the pale of law and that such people are usually shot after the formality of a drum-head court-martial.

Not even the pretext of ' warfare ' can be urged in excuse for the cold-blooded murder of Detective-Sergeant Patrick Smith and Detective-Constable Daniel Hoey, of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, who were shot down by murder gangs of the I.R.B. in the streets of Dublin.

During 1919 no less than 18 police and military were murdered, and ordinary crime, as distinct from crime connected in any way with politics, rose in many counties to five or six times the normal standard. In addition to actual crime, the energies of the Irish Volunteers were at this time devoted to the inspiration of a systematic terrorism. The people were intimidated to an incredible degree, with the dual object of securing the safety of the criminals and of discrediting the normal functioning of the law.

The conditions which prevailed during 1919 became increasingly bad, but the I.R.B. had secured their point: they had made sure that if the bulk of the people did not support them, at least they would not dare to inform and would shield the criminals. Further, they had so raised the terror that no one dared to be seen even talking to the police or to be suspected of helping them in the slightest way.

The I.R.B., acting within the Irish Volunteers, next made a dead set at the assassination of all

police officers known to be connected with the detective branch of the police and who might possess specialised knowledge useful in running the murderers to earth. On January 21st, 1920, Assistant Commissioner Redmond, of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, who had been for many years associated with the detective branch of the Belfast R.I.C., was shot down in the streets of Dublin while walking to his hotel from the Castle.

In March, 1920, Mr. Alan Bell, a resident magistrate, who had been entrusted with the work of examining the relations existing between Sinn Fein and certain Irish banking concerns, an examination which, if pursued without opposition, might have revealed the whole joint financial mechanism behind Sinn Fein and the I.R.B., was seized in a tram-car in which he was coming from his residence to Dublin Castle by a gang of six men, who took him out of the car on to the pavement and emptied their revolvers into him.

Another case, possibly more attributable to the little group of labour disciples within the I.R.B. who had descended from Conolly's Citizen Army organisation than to the Sinn Fein enthusiasts in the Brotherhood, was the murder of the Right Honourable Frank Brooke, D.L., Chairman of the Dublin and South Eastern Railway Company, on July 30th. He was in his office at Westland Row Station, when the doors were burst open and a gang of gunmen rushed in and shot him dead at his desk.

These murders made it clear to the terrified population that active loyalty or even the suspicion of supporting the Government was equivalent to signing one's death warrant. Under the rule

of the Sinn Fein gunmen, there was to be no liberty of speech or political thought hostile to the murder-stained cause of the Republic.

Another murder with far-reaching after-effects was that of Colonel Smyth, a very gallant officer with a distinguished War record, who had been made Divisional Commissioner of the R.I.C. Colonel Smyth was murdered at the direct instigation of the Sinn Fein official propagandist organ, the *Irish Bulletin*, a malignant and lying sheet, issued in secret but widely circulated to all parts. The *Bulletin* accused Colonel Smyth of having made an inflammatory speech to the Constabulary at Listowel in June, and issued a false and distorted extract which it termed an incitement to murder. On July 17th, Colonel Smyth was sitting in the smoking-room of the County Club at Cork, when a party of armed men burst in and shot him dead. After this murder, Detective-Inspector Swanzy, who had been much identified with Colonel Smyth, was transferred for safety's sake to his home district, Lisburn, in Ulster.

On the 22nd August, Inspector Swanzy was shot dead as he was leaving church, by a gang of gunmen who had come out from Belfast in motor-cars and had taken cover in a Sinn Fein Catholic's house facing the church. Within half an hour of the murder every known Sinn Fein house in Lisburn was in flames ; the news spread to Belfast where the Loyalists, furious at this cold-blooded murder by Sinn Feiners in the very heart of loyal Ulster, rose in riot and expelled from the shipyards all Catholic workmen who refused to sign an oath of loyalty and allegiance.

The sufferings of the Catholics of Ulster were the direct outcome of this particular murder and could have been obviated then and at any successive time by a declaration of loyalty to the Crown. This was not forthcoming, and the affair developed into a religious war in which the Catholic community, by virtue of their defence of the Sinn Feiners, were regarded as the aggressors.

It is by no means easy to sort out the specific crimes for which blame can be attributed directly to either the I.R.B. or to the Irish Volunteers, because the I.R.B. was, as we have seen, the controlling inner ring of the whole Irish Volunteer organisation and was in an unchallenged position in that not only did it control the personnel of the Volunteers (in which office was largely elective) but it controlled the distribution of arms and the funds. Distinct conflict began to develop within the Volunteer ranks, where officers and commandants who were not members of the I.R.B. found that they were not taken into the confidence of the chiefs ; and it is evident that many of the Volunteers' leaders at the time had a far clearer sense of the distinction between warfare and murder than commended itself to militant Sinn Fein and its *âme damnée*, the Black Brotherhood. From Belfast to Cork volunteers began to press for an exact definition of where the authority of the I.R.B. to utilise the Volunteers began and ended.

Political Sinn Fein, although it had raised no voice to condemn or repudiate the foulest works of murder, began to see in the Clan-na-Gael-financed I.R.B. an agency whose power might, if it grew, be hard to control, even when the Elysian dream

of a Republic became translated into fact. The first thing to achieve was to become the paramount power controlling the I.R.B. and to sever it from the Clan. It was largely in connection with this task that Harry Boland, De Valera's secretary, came over from America to Ireland in the June of 1920. He made a full report of the obstruction which De Valera was meeting from Devoy and Cohalan to Count Plunkett, the ' Foreign Minister ' of the Dail, which the latter presented in the following terms :—

" This portion of my report would be incomplete if I did not refer to the attitude of Supreme Court Judge Daniel F. Cohalan and John Devoy toward President De Valera and his mission. The ministry learns that these two men have never given their whole-hearted support to the President in his campaign. At the very outset they used their utmost endeavour to prevent a launching of the Bond Drive, and they attempted to force the President into the position of accepting their dictation in all matters of policy connected with his mission. The President has definitely refused to allow his judgment or his action to be dictated by these men, and the success of his tour and of the Bond Drive are proof of his wisdom in the matter."*

The untoward publication of this statement, which was captured by the authorities along with many other interesting papers that have not yet been disclosed, led the leaders of the Clan to attack not only De Valera's policy and his much-criticised " Cuban " speech, but his personal expenditure of Republican Bond money on high living. The quarrel prospered, and, despite a temporary agreement in August, the breach was too great to be healed, and shortly afterwards the connection

* Captured Documents published in Press, Aug. 9th, 1920.

between the Clan-na-Gael and the I.R.B. was arbitrarily severed at the instance of the Dublin Supreme Council.

In the meantime the organisation of the Irish Volunteers was being remodelled, and the whole was under process of conversion from the *Irish Volunteers* into the *Irish Republican Army*. The latter title was not adopted in speech or correspondence at once, but slowly made headway until the holding of the Convention of 1920, and the production of a new Constitution with a formal oath knit the whole loose organisation into a coherent whole. In this merger the I.R.B., from its inherently military nature, became the overlord of the I.R.A., so far as ordinary 'military' activities were concerned, but it did not suffer a complete submersion of identity, being retained as a specialist body to take charge of certain functions of a nature outside the purely military function of the I.R.A. These special duties included the supply of arms from abroad, spying and the commission of outrages in England, and special murder campaigns. As before, the Military Council of the I.R.B. was therefore the majority representation on the Headquarters Staff of the I.R.A.

The new Constitution was as follows :—

General Draft Constitution.

CONSTITUTION of the IRISH VOLUNTEERS.

I. *Objects.*

1. To secure and maintain the Irish Republic, and the rights and liberties common to the people of Ireland.

2. To train and equip for this purpose an Irish Volunteer Force which shall be the army of the Irish Republic.

II. *Oath of Allegiance.*

1. Every Member of the Irish Republican Army shall take the following oath :—

"I, A.B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I do not, and shall not, yield a voluntary support to any pretended Government, Authority, or Power within Ireland, hostile or inimical thereto ; and I do further swear (or affirm) that to the best of my knowledge and ability I will support and defend the Irish Republic, and the Government of the Irish Republic, which is Dail Eireann, against all enemies foreign and domestic ; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, so help me God."

III. *Government of the Irish Republican Army.*

1. The administration of the Irish Republican Army shall be vested in the Minister of National Defence, who shall act in consultation with an Executive Council.

2. The Executive Council shall consist of one Honorary Secretary, one Honorary Treasurer, and three other members who shall guarantee to attend weekly meetings in Dublin if called upon to do so, and two representatives from each of the Provinces. The Provincial Representatives shall be elected by the Provincial Delegates, voting Province by Province. The Honorary Secretary, the Honorary Treasurer and the three other Members shall be chosen by the Convention as a whole.

3. In the event of the resignation or death of a Provincial Representative, the Provincial Delegates shall be called together to fill his place. In the event of removal by the enemy, a substitute, whose name shall previously have been submitted to and sanctioned by the Executive Council, shall act in his place.

4. The Executive Council shall be elected in the following manner :—

A Convention shall be held annually (notice of which will be given two months in advance), and will consist of three Members from each Brigade Area, together with the Brigade Commandants and Members of the existing Executive Council and Headquarters Staff. The Delegates to this Council shall be appointed at a Brigade Convention (of which one month's notice shall be given), consisting of two Delegates from each

Company within the Brigade Area, together with the Brigade Staff and the Battalion Commandants and Vice-Commandants.

5. A Special Convention may be called on the requisition of two-thirds of the full Executive Council. This Convention to consist of the Delegates to the previous Annual Convention.

6. The Minister of National Defence shall be approved of by the Executive Council.

7. All powers of making, modifying and amending the Constitution of the Irish Republican Army shall be vested in the Annual Convention of the Irish Republican Army, or in the Special Convention called together, as set up in paragraph 5.

8. The Minister of National Defence, in consultation with the Executive Council, shall appoint and define the duties of the Headquarters Staff.

9. An audited Statement of Accounts shall be submitted to the Annual Convention by the Executive Council.

IV. *Scope and System of Organisation.*

1. The organisation of the Irish Republican Army shall extend throughout Ireland.

2. Every body of Irishmen who band themselves together to achieve the stated objects, who take the oath and subscribe to the Constitution of the Irish Republican Army, will be eligible for recognition, as a Company, and may, on payment of Company Affiliation Fees, be recognised as a Company of the Irish Republican Army.

3. Each Company shall pay an annual Affiliation Fee of 10s. to General Headquarters. This must be paid in one sum, on or before the 1st May. The financial year closes on 31st October and all Affiliation Fees terminate at that date.

4. No second Company will be affiliated or recognised in a district in which there already exists an accepted Company until the first Company has recruited up to full strength, or permission has been granted by General Headquarters to establish a second Company.

5. No Company will be recognised as permanent until it has been in existence for two months, and has fulfilled the requirements of the Military Organisation of the Irish Republican Army.

6. The recognised Companies will be formed into Battalions and Brigades, according to the Military Organisation of the Irish Republican Army.

7. Apart from the regular payment of fees in order to secure the continuance of recognition, each Company must carry on constantly the military exercises ordered by the properly constituted governing authorities of the Irish Republican Army.

8. Each Company will in all things submit to the examinations, inspections, enquiries, and orders of the properly constituted authorities of the Irish Republican Army.

9. In the Irish-speaking districts the words of command will be given only in Irish.

It should be noted that in the old Constitution there was no mention of the I.R.A. and that the objects were as follows :—

I. *Objects.*

1. To secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland.

2. To train, discipline and equip for this purpose an Irish Volunteer Force.

3. To unite, in the service of Ireland, Irishmen of every creed and of every party and class.

and that there was no oath, but simply the following :—

II. *Enrolment form to be signed by all Irish Volunteers.*

I, the undersigned, desire to be enrolled for service in Ireland as a member of the Irish Volunteer Force. I subscribe to the Constitution of the Irish Volunteers, and pledge my willing obedience to my superior officers. I declare that in joining the Irish Volunteer Force I set before myself the stated objects of the Irish Volunteers, and no others.

The old system of organisation was loose and ill-formulated, and there was no really systematic Headquarters organisation and chain of command.

In view of the oft-asseverated remark by Sinn Feiners that " the Republic is at war with Britain,"

it is amusing to note that among the motions for agenda put forward at the 1920 Convention was the following :—

Sec. 3, Par. 11.—" That a clause be embodied in the New Constitution which would provide that President De Valera automatically takes command on a declaration of war. This, besides recognising the President's well-known military ability, would be following on the precedent already established in the U.S.A."

(Clare East).

The reorganisation of the I.R.A. did not proceed without trouble, as men who were politically important, but militarily inefficient, proved stumbling-blocks.

One of the greatest factors leading up to the merger of the I.R.B. in the I.R.A. was the murder of Alderman MacCurtain, the Lord Mayor of Cork, on the night of March 19th, 1920.

MacCurtain was an ardent Republican, but also a man of high ideals, and he had recently authoritatively stated that the function of the I.R.B. was to supply arms and not to order the Volunteers about, irrespective of their own officers. Correspondence had been exchanged with Headquarters on this point, MacCurtain pressing the claim of the Volunteers with energy. Whether he was or had been at any time a member of the I.R.B. is not definitely ascertained, but it is certain that he was well informed concerning the identity and actions of the local I.R.B. circles and their centres, and that the latter feared certain disclosures would be made by him to the Authorities.

On the evening of the 19th when he and his wife had retired to bed, knocking was heard at the

door. Mrs. MacCurtain went down to open the door and four men with blackened faces brushed by her, made their way to the Mayor's bedroom, called on him to come out; there were a few words, and he was shot down by them.

The crime raised great excitement, and after prolonged sittings a local and partisan jury returned a verdict which was manifestly out of keeping with the facts. They attributed the murder to members of the police and brought in a verdict against Mr. Lloyd George, General Macready and various others.

The Times of March 29th contained the following:—

"A well-informed correspondent writes: It has now been ascertained that on the night of the 17th–18th March there was a meeting of the Circle of the Irish Republican Brotherhood attended by the Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman Thomas MacCurtain, and other prominent persons. At this meeting seven members of the I.R.B. were expelled. It is significant that one of the persons present was shot after leaving the meeting, and that two nights later the Lord Mayor was shot. It is stated that at this meeting accusations were made of infidelity to the Cause of the I.R.B."

The next Lord Mayor of Cork was Terence MacSwiney, who, at the time of the murder of MacCurtain, was Commandant of the first Cork Brigade of the Irish Volunteers. Later, when MacSwiney was hunger-striking in Brixton Gaol, a published word from Dail Eireann could have absolved him from his pledge and saved his life. That word never came, and there are those who, looking into dark things, hold that the shadow of Thomas MacCurtain was the factor that withheld the granting to Terence MacSwiney of the right to live.

CHAPTER XIII

Progress of the campaign

The year 1920 saw the birth of that systematic campaign of outrage which continued until 1921, and which the Irish apologists term 'guerilla warfare'; and it is necessary to make clear the system on which this shameful campaign was based. It depended on one main principle—the hiding of the young assassins behind the whole body of Irish civilians. The Irish Republican Army was not a uniformed body of men, its methods were not those of civilised warfare, and it partook far more of the nature of an organised murder gang than that of any irregular body of patriots who have ever been granted military status.

We may leave the exact interpretation of the standing of the I.R.A. to the more sensitive among the Irish, but there never was and never could be the slightest recognition of these people, either as an army, or as legitimate belligerents. Whereas it is quite possible for officers and men of regularly constituted crown or national forces to meet on the same social planes after hostilities between their nations have ceased and the incidental bitterness of war has died down, it is inconceivable that officers or men of any force could now or at any future time accept members of the I.R.A. as

participants in the honourable brotherhood of arms.

The rank and file were doubtless in many cases convinced that their actions were justifiable and patriotic and were sanctioned by the vague tenets of guerilla warfare, and such men must be regarded as misguided rather than as conscious wrong-doers. Nothing, on the other hand, can palliate the criminality of their leaders and that of any men with pretence to education among their ranks.

It may not improperly be remarked here, concerning this question of the morality of murder, that the natural court of appeal for a nominally religious race such as the Irish was the Irish Catholic Church. The failure of that Church to take strong steps toward the suppression of the outrage is, perhaps, sufficient indication of its status.

The I.R.A. adopted much of the paper formality of a regular force, but it remained a murder gang, and the gloss of military phrases and the assumption of military titles makes no difference. A favourite military activity of the I.R.A. was to throw bombs at police lorries in the crowded streets of Dublin. In these outrages the spectators and innocent passers-by suffered, the police were rarely hit, and as the bombers fled after throwing the bombs after the cars, they, too, did not suffer heavy casualties, although they lost many more than were lost by police or military. The operations in the country were similar, and in no case was uniform worn. The principle was the concentration of civilians to a spot where arms were

stored. The arms would be served out and either an ambush laid for the road patrols or else a police barrack would be bombarded all night. In some cases the lives of captured police or military were spared, but in most cases no quarter was granted. Sinn Fein prisoners, captured and interned by Crown forces, exceeded 4,000.

The campaign was not confined to Ireland, and a certain amount of senseless incendiarism and attempts to assassinate or burn the homes of relatives of the R.I.C. men in England was conducted by Sinn Fein elements in this country. The main focus of infection was an organisation known as the *Irish Self-Determination League.* This was the usual pseudo-political, nominally innocent, organisation which embraced disaffected Irish and other subversive elements and which was controlled by the Divisional Centres of the I.R.B. in England. Recruiting from the Self-Determination League, Sinn Fein Clubs were formed which corresponded to the civil side of the I.R.B. organisation. Out of the worst elements of these Sinn Fein Clubs and Irish Literary Societies sections of young desperadoes were recruited into the I.R.B., and, after the capture of the I.R.A. by the latter, these groups in England also claimed to be members of the I.R.A. At Manchester, Glasgow, and London, outrages, which were in the main abortive, were committed, and a number of criminals were caught and sentenced.

A peculiar feature was the difficulty with which adequate evidence to secure conviction could be found ; the prisoners moving in the Irish element had advantages in that their normal associates

were also criminal in intent, if not in deed, and many of whose guilt there was little doubt had to be acquitted for lack of evidence strong enough to convict in English law. One degenerate youth, Maud Amphion Robinson, was acquitted of a charge with respect to arson near Red Lion Square, London, only to be caught red-handed a month or two later shooting at a policeman near Greenwich. He received an adequate sentence on the second occasion, but has since been amnestied and released.

In Liverpool the I.R.B. had a wide-spread organisation and used the Irish National Forester's Hall as a drilling station. Several of their leading men specialised in getting suspected murderers berths in some capacity on vessels bound for the States, and there, as well as at Glasgow, were agents who specialised in the illegal smuggling of arms into Ireland.

Women and boys played a considerable part in the murder campaign, the former as spies and arms agents, the latter as the pliant instruments of murder. The boys of nineteen or so were perhaps the most dangerous criminal element which the Crown forces had to encounter. A gang of six young pistol-armed ruffians found it easy to shoot down a solitary constable or an unarmed soldier walking out with a girl ; and the young ' hooligan ' element in towns is not infrequently criminally disposed, whether they are Neapolitans, Bowery ' boys,' or soldiers of the Irish Republican Army.

The Women's organisation was the *Cumann-na-mBan* (The Irish Women's Council) and its executive was controlled by the I.R.B. through

women who were in close connection with the executive of the latter. It was decidedly militant in intent, and in its book of rules (1917-18) sets forth the following statement :—

The organisation came into being in Dublin in November, 1913, and after its first public meeting, held in the following May, it spread rapidly through the country.

In November, 1914, the Executive of Cumann-na-mBan declared in support of the Irish Volunteers' Manifesto, and as a result of this stand the Association lost some of its branches, and a few individual members. The loss, however, was only temporary and during the next year and a half the branches increased steadily, both in numbers and in effectiveness. Immediately before Easter, 1916, the Association counted 43 affiliated branches.

Cumann-na-mBan initiated the "Defence of Ireland Fund" for the arming and equipping of the Volunteers, because they believe the arming of Ireland's National Army to be of paramount importance till Ireland is free. Cumann-na-mBan is proud that its members rallied under the Republican Flag in Easter Week, 1916, and claim that by taking their places in the firing line, and in every other way helping in the establishment of the Irish Republic, they have regained for the women of Ireland the rights that belonged to them under the old Gaelic civilisation, where sex was no bar to citizenship, and where women were free to devote to the service of their country every talent and capacity with which they were endowed; which rights were stolen from them under English rule, but were guaranteed to them in the Republican Proclamation of Easter Week.

Cumann-na-mBan pledge their allegiance to the Republic proclaimed in Easter Week, 1916, and offer their revered homage to those men who nobly died that Ireland should take her place among the nations, believing that it was the fight that these men led and which ended in their martyrdom that has placed Ireland's cause in a position from which she can demand the support of the civilised world.

CONSTITUTION.

Cumann-na-mBan is an independent body of Irish women, pledged to work for the establishment of an Irish Republic, by organising and training the women of Ireland to take their places by the side of those who are working for a free Ireland.

POLICY for 1917–18.

(1) To continue collecting for the " Defence of Ireland Fund " and any other fund to be devoted to the arming and equipping of the men and women of Ireland.

In its circular of instruction to branches the following extract shows an enthusiasm for pursuits not entirely in keeping with the tradition of the Red Cross :—

Semaphore Signalling with flags can be learnt from cards to be had at Ponsonby's, 116, Grafton Street, Dublin, price 3d. the set (postage extra). When members are proficient in Semaphore (which should be practised across fields as well as indoors) an examination may be held, and those who pass can go on to *Morse Code*, practised with flags, lights, whistles, etc. *Target Practice* is now almost impossible owing to scarcity of ammunition, but *loading* and *unloading* and the cleaning and care of the rifle are of great importance. Even in *purely ambulance work* the wounded man's rifle must be unloaded and looked after.

The boys were organised on a Boy Scout basis, with a purely military aim, known as the *Fianna Eireann*, and the organisation proved (as might be expected) an excellent incubator for young assassins. Its constitution, which does not directly pledge to Republicanism, although the latter is implied and later extolled during training, is as follows :—

THE CONSTITUTION of the FIANNA.

OBJECT.

To re-establish the Independence of Ireland.

MEANS.

The training of the youth of Ireland, mentally and physically, to achieve this object by teaching scouting and military exercises, Irish History and the Irish language.

DECLARATION.

I promise to work for the independence of Ireland, never to join England's armed forces, and to obey my superior officers.

THE CONSTITUTION.

1. *General.*

1. Na Fianna Eireann (Irish National Boy Scout's Organisation) shall consist of an Ard-Fheis (Congress), an Ard-Choisde (Central Council), a Headquarters Staff, Coisde Ceanntair (District Councils), and Sluaighte (Troops). The members of the Ard-Choisde shall be members *ex-officio* of all Coisdi, Ceanntair and Committee of the Organisation.

2. Membership of Na Fianna Eireann shall be open to all boys who endorse its Constitution and make the Declaration of the Fianna.

In 1920 the notorious Countess Markievicz was the chief of this organisation, which was organised throughout the country in Brigades working under the orders of the I.R.A. and engaged in spying, signalling and despatch-riding duties. At the age of eighteen senior Fianna become eligible for the ranks of the I.R.A.

As can be seen, the joint organisation of Fianna, Cumann-na-mBan and I.R.A. embraced the youth of the country of both sexes and placed the whole body of this ignorant and emotional section of the populace under the control of the small executive body of criminals. The damage done to

the morality of the younger generation may not be fully apparent for some time, but children of a revolution seldom breed stability of government. Further, the doctrine that a political creed sanctions violence and murder will probably rebound upon its exponents long before those who taught it to the rising generation will have had their fill of office.

Throughout the latter part of 1920 and the first six months of 1921 the outrages increased in severity. The British Cabinet suffered the usual drawbacks of a Coalition, and the influence of doctrinaire and academic Liberalism was such that no effective coercive policy was allowed to be maintained by either the police or the troops in Ireland. The situation was not one for half measures, yet the pacifist element in the Cabinet would not permit the censorship of the inciting rebel press nor would it permit the functioning of a system of martial law adequate to deal with the situation.

Early in 1921 De Valera returned from the United States, where he was discredited, to Ireland. Orders were issued by the British Government that he was not to be arrested or molested in any way. He was in close connection with such members of the murder gang as were not in custody. In the meantime the organisation of the I.R.A. was expanded until from one reason or another (that is to say, love of lawlessness or fear of their own companions), nearly all the younger men in South and Western Ireland had been pressed into its ranks. Gardeners were ' Captains,' publicans were ' Brigade Officers,' and rank of one kind or

another was plentifully distributed. Ample funds were extorted at the pistol-point to augment those derived from America, but the armament remained inadequate to the size of the organisation.

In 1920 a new weapon, known as the Thompson Sub-machine Gun, made its appearance in America. This arm, although no larger than a carbine and weighing only eight pounds, is to all effects a short-range machine-gun, capable of firing a thousand rounds a minute. It is extremely portable and very easily concealed. Plans were concerted for the arming of the rebels with this new weapon, which was being manufactured in quantity by the well-known Colt Firearms Company, of Hartford, U.S.A., and marketed by the Thompson Auto-Ordnance Company. The authorities kept a careful eye on these developments, and on June 18th a consignment of 600 guns with many spare magazines and hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition was seized in New York Harbour. The circumstances were ably reported as follows by the *New York Times* of June 18th :—

LONDON, June 17th.—The British Secret Service is likely to furnish the United States Government with some very interesting information about the seizure of 495 machine-guns by the Hoboken police. It was entirely due to their activities, the *New York Times* learns, that an incident unpleasantly like the *Alabama* case has not arisen to ruffle relations between the two countries.

Last December the Government began negotiating with the Auto-Ordnance Company to see if it could not acquire control of the gun for its own purposes. General Thompson and Walter H. Morgan, manager of the Company, were invited to come over and arrived in May, but just about the same time British forces in Dublin captured a document which, it was said, bore on the

Thompson Gun. It was endorsed by notes by Mulcahy, General of the Irish Revolutionary Army, and was accompanied by a map of Ireland. It was full of discussion of how certain expected machine-guns were to be distributed among Sinn Fein forces and how arrangements were to be made for training squads in their use or for distribution of the guns. It was laid down that they should be sent to reinforce the firing-power of existing units and to places where there was prospect of obtaining suitable targets for machine-gun fire. It also was suggested that they be supplied to hard-pressed areas, as they would enable Sinn Feiners to deal with reserves, even if the Crown forces were in the habit of attacking in extended order, and to take up in ambushes more forward positions. It was specially remarked that all Sinn Fein units near large enemy concentrations should be armed with them, as such units would frequently get suitable targets. For the same reason it was proposed that preliminary classes in the use of this gun should be held in the Dublin area, as targets were never lacking there.

Capture of this document changed the attitude of the British Government, which learned that a large shipment of Thompson guns was coming to Sinn Feiners from America, and that Sinn Feiners had already received a few. It was realised that on these Thompson guns depended an offensive which it was known the Irish Revolutionary Army was preparing for Fall. Consequently officials closely questioned Mr. Morgan about the matter. He disclaimed all knowledge of how Sinn Feiners could get the guns, and negotiations with the Auto-Ordnance Company were dropped.

Then the question arose how the shipment of arms from America could be stopped. One method was plain. Ammunition could be permitted to cross the Atlantic and be picked up at leisure by the Navy in Irish waters, but that might have awkward consequences. It is one thing to seize half a dozen pistols being smuggled in by a private citizen, and another to stop a ship loaded with five hundred machine-guns and ammunition worth $200,000. The latter plan seemed to recall the *Alabama* case, and the British Government had no desire to figure in a sensational international incident, even if it was entirely on the right side of it. It was far simpler for a sailor aboard a

munitions ship to stub his toe against a machine-gun or to show curiosity about its cargo, and then warn the American police. It would be just as effective and would keep the incident within domestic limits, and so it fell out. But when the *New York Times* representative asked how it fell out, his informant grew sketchy.

One point that no one here can clear up is how 495 first-class machine-guns came into the hands of the Sinn Feiners, and who is responsible for their sale. That, it is suggested, is an American question, but its solution may be helped by the fact that every gun has its own number, which is presumably on record in the books of the manufacturers. Meanwhile the Sinn Fein's Fall Campaign has been crippled.

The suggestive circumstance which has never been explained is how it happened that out of the 600 guns captured on board the steamship *Eastside*, only 495 were available when the State authorities took them over from the Hoboken police. This latter force, however, contains many Irish, and a certain number of Thompson guns were successfully brought into Ireland previous to and during the truce of 1921. The weapon was first in action at the burning of the Dublin Custom House by the I.R.A. on May 25th, 1921, but jammed badly and inflicted no casualties on the police engaged. The Thompson guns were not supplied by the Clan-na-Gael but by elements connected directly with the I.R.B., who were aided by members of the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic.*

In June, 1921, the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. found that the military activity of the

* Colonel Thompson, vice-president of the Auto Ordnance Company, and son of General Thompson the inventor, was eventually arrested at the instance of the State Department of Washington. His trial is still (July, 1922) pending.

British Forces was discouraging many of its numbers. They had suffered extremely heavy casualties which they had not disclosed, and there was a loss of *morale* in the ranks. To counter this the following circular was issued to all Centres :

" The Organisation serves, as it is intended to serve, all the functions of a national rallying centre from which the Republican idea goes forth through Volunteers, Sinn Fein League, Public Boards, Gaelic Leagues, etc.

" In view of the prevailing conditions, any form of negligence on the part of the officers or men of the Irish Republican Brotherhood is unpardonable and will henceforth be dealt with severely. You are directed to see to it that no such offences as negligence or insubordination are permitted in your areas, whether on the part of officers or men. Organisation men who are unable or unwilling to act up to the spirit contained in their inception oath should be outside, and not inside the Organisation. It is now fully realised that Ireland can win out through physical force methods. In the past this was only seen by the minority who formed the Irish Republican Brotherhood. We must have courage, confidence and physical force to the end."

This was promptly followed by a noticeable increase in the number of Irish found murdered with a card marked *Spy and Traitor, executed by order of the I.R.A.*, pinned on their corpses.

The outrage campaign progressed without any signs of a change of spirit till the British Cabinet allowed it to become known that a new intensive war against the rebels would begin on June the 14th, the ' appointed day ' for the Government of Southern Ireland to act, unless things changed for the better. The I.R.A. had suffered heavy casualties, very few of which they disclosed, a few captured murderers had been executed, not many, but enough to discourage the remainder, and the capture of the bulk of the Thompson guns had

upset the prospect of an intensified murder campaign. The I.R.A. was discouraged, and both military and police were greatly heartened by the prospect of being allowed to move from the defensive to offensive warfare. Reinforcements were arriving daily, and it was well known that a three months' period of intensive warfare was to be initiated. Michael Collins himself knew that this could not be successfully withstood, and he became an ardent advocate for peace.

In order to give a last chance to those who at this period were directing the destiny of Ireland, His Majesty's speech, which he delivered at the opening of the Parliament of Northern Ireland, was so framed as to include an appeal for peace and further negotiation. Secret negotiations had been on foot throughout: De Valera was in close touch with Castle officials, and now came the time for him to come forward. By what is widely believed to be an irony of circumstance, he was arrested and confined by the military for a night, but later, after his papers had been carefully examined, was unostentatiously released. His treatment compared not unfavourably with that accorded to Mr. Erskine Childers, who was also arrested, taken to Dublin Castle, and released, Mr. Cope, the Assistant Under Secretary, carrying his bag to the gate. De Valera's arrest destroyed the myth of his wonderful immunity which had been sedulously spread by his supporters. In point of fact he could have been arrested any time after the ship conveying him entered British territorial waters, but he was allowed to be free in order that when the time came for negotiation there should

at least be some sort of a figure-head to speak for the Sinn Feiners who claimed to represent the people of Southern Ireland. It was recognised that no reputable uncompromised personality would dare come forward, and that the fear of the murder gang was the dominant political factor in the South.

Negotiations were pressed forward and the air was alive with rumours of an impending meeting. The extremists redoubled their activities, and the Dublin Brigade, determined to obtain wide publicity, raided the Customs House, the most beautiful building in Dublin, during the lunch hour, poured petrol all over the offices, and set it on fire. The Auxiliary Police were instantly on the scene, the rebels were trapped in the building and lost some twenty casualties besides being captured *en bloc*. The Thompson guns were first in action during this outrage, and according to the rebel account they jammed badly.

It was decided that no negotiations could be satisfactorily continued while the outrage campaign went on. The Government, with a moral courage which does them credit, therefore agreed that a Truce should be signed between the rebels and the Crown authorities. Accordingly a Truce was agreed as from noon on July 11th, 1921.

The next step was the release of the majority of the Dail (who were in prison) in order that they might rejoin the minority who had so far kept outside. On August 6th, De Valera was re-elected President of Dail Eireann, and by the 1st October he had accepted the invitation to attend a conference in London.

The path to peace was not over-smooth, for

De Valera proved an impossible negotiator and the whole scheme was frequently imperilled by his blunders. The worst of these was, perhaps, his telegram to the Pope announcing that Ireland owed no allegiance to Great Britain. This was sent because the Pope had telegraphed to the King his congratulations on the Truce and his hope of a satisfactory settlement. The attitude of Ulster was no less refractory, and a section of the British Unionist party was openly in revolt, alleging the betrayal of Ulster and the surrender of vital principles.

The British public, as a whole, was far too anxious to get rid once and for all of the eternal burden of Irish affairs to worry much about Ulster, and Army opinion had cooled through experience from the pre-War attitude that Ulster could do no wrong to a point that, though admitting an affection for Ulster loyalty, yet Ulster's assistance in fighting Sinn Fein had not been noticeable in deeds. English soldiers were certainly tired of being ground between the upper and nether mill-stones of Irish extremism. People who prophesied civil war between North and South found their stock at a discount; with the exception of extreme political partisans, everybody was quite willing to let the Irish question be settled so far as it concerned England and Ireland.

At 2.30 a.m. on the 6th December, the Irish representatives and the Cabinet signed a Peace Treaty which gave Ireland the status of a Dominion. From that date to the time of writing (July, 1922) there has not been an unbroken week's peace in Ireland.

CHAPTER XIV

The Attitude of the American Societies

The *Friends of Irish Freedom* organisation, of which we have spoken before, is a society or association which acts as a general connection between the politico-criminal secret society, the Clan-na-Gael, and Irish organisations in general. Its main function is to extract money from the Irish-Americans, the German-Americans and other elements sympathetic to Ireland by reason of their antipathy to Britain. It also functions as a recruiting-ground, supplying new members to the camps of the Clan, and it is hostile to the De Valera association known as the *American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic.* It is pledged to continue the persecution of the British Empire and the fomenting of agitation in Ireland until the latter achieves absolute Republicanism and complete severance from the British Commonwealth.

The F.I.F. was founded on May 5th, 1915, and was initiated as an open political movement to serve as a screen for the Clan-na-Gael connection with the forthcoming rising of Easter Week, 1916.

Its first overt act as distinct from plotting was the raising of a Relief Fund for the ' victims ' of the rising. $350,000 were collected and sent over to the Relief Committee in Dublin. This Com-

mittee was a hotbed of intrigue, for John Dillon, the Nationalist M.P., and hostile Republican elements were struggling for the possession of the funds. Owing to the interference of Archbishop Walsh of Dublin the Parliamentary party were defeated and the plunder remained with the Republicans. John A. Murphy, President of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, was the secret agent of the Clan-na-Gael who brought about the Archbishop's interference by intimating that, failing his action, American supplies would be cut off.

Under the guidance of Devoy and Cohalan the F.I.F. soon became a powerful political irritant in purely American affairs, for every member is pledged to write under orders to any member of Congress or Senator, urging the Irish point of view.

The F.I.F. opposed the League of Nations on the ground that all members were bound to respect one another's integrity and possessions; thus Ireland as a *de jure* and *de facto* British possession could not be assisted in its rebellions by armed American expeditions.

On September 18th, 1921, the Fifth Annual Convention of the F.I.F. was held, appropriately enough at the German *Turn Verein* Hall on Lexington Avenue and 85th Street.

John Devoy and Diarmuid Lynch, ex-member of Dail Eireann, spoke, alluding to the split between the F.I.F. and the A.A.R.O.I.R., urging that the " true facts " should be placed before all prominent Irishmen. The general tone of the meeting pledged the good work to continue independent of any

settlement between the Irish representatives and Great Britain. Miss Brogan, State President of the Ladies' Auxiliary Ancient Order of Hibernians (U.S.A.), and various other delegates also spoke, but the most interesting event was the election of Lieut.-Colonel A. E. Anderson as President of the New York organisation of the F.I.F. The Colonel is of some notoriety, as he has been expelled from that patriotic American organisation, the American Legion, and we shall also see his name in the secret report of the Clan-na-Gael which follows shortly. He is quite clear in his whole-hearted Irish Republicanism and his still more sincere hatred and jealousy of the British Commonwealth of nations. The following is an extract from his speech as it appeared in *The Gaelic American*, Oct. 8th, 1921 :—

" What was the dominating motive of the heroes of Easter Week when they started the revolution whose echoes were to ring round the world ? They did not go out for Dominion status ; they went out for an Irish Republic. What of Tom Ashe, who was starved to death in Mountjoy ? He did not give up his life for Dominion status ; he died for an Irish Republic. Did McSwiney offer up his life in Brixton Jail for Dominion status ? No. He, too, died that the Irish Republic might live. The mothers who gladly sent their boys into the ranks of the Irish Republican Army, those who had to bear up under the ordeal of seeing the dead bodies of their sons and brothers returned to them mutilated beyond recognition, those who have so gallantly carried the fight against this Empire, did not make their choice for Dominion status ; they stood for an Irish Republic.

" Let no one then turn us aside from our duty ; let us with renewed vigour apply ourselves to the proper solution of this question—the solution that will mean the firm establishment of the Irish Republic and the breaking up of England's world-control."

The Clan-na-Gael Executive held their Annual Convention after the Irish Truce was signed. Its proceedings were, of course, secret, but I am able to give them in accurate detail with the exception of certain names whose disclosure might prejudice future events. Particular attention is directed to recommendation No. 3 of the Military Committee. Following No. 4 is some indication that Colonel Anderson, now President of the New York F.I.F., is to be made chief of military supplies.

The paragraphs of the report of the Foreign Relations Committee are extremely interesting as disclosing the surrender of the I.R.B. to the Irish platform and its temporary divorce from the Clan-na-Gael. Despite this, $115,000 were contributed by the Clan, $90,000 for direct murder, and $25,000 for other allied affairs.

The paragraph which closes the account of this interesting meeting is not without irony, in view of the fact that I am enabled to give so detailed a report in print!

The Convention was held in Boston, Mass., on Monday and Tuesday, July 4th and 5th. The delegates assembled at the appointed place on Monday, July 4th, at 10 a.m. The chairman of the D.A. acted as temporary Secretary.

A Sergeant-at-Arms and tellers having been appointed, the current password of the Organisation was taken up, and all present were found to be in possession of it. To assure that only duly accredited delegates were in attendance, all present were directed to stand at the rear of the hall. The roll was then called in numerical order of districts, and as his name was read out, each

man took his seat at the front, saluting the Chair as he advanced and announcing his Number, Camp and District. The Convention was unusually representative, delegates being present from practically every section of the United States and Canada, and the attendance was so large, even at the opening session, that it was evident a more spacious hall would have to be secured.

Following the mode of procedure adopted at previous Conventions, the first business was the formation of a general Committee, consisting of a representative named by each District, to select from among its number nine members to constitute the Committee on Credentials. This having been done, the delegates were directed, in order to expedite matters and facilitate the work of the Committee, to hand their part of the Credentials to their respective District Officers, who then turned the same over to the Committee on Credentials for verification. The Committee having organised, elected its Chairman and Secretary, announced its place of meeting, so that newly-arrived delegates could submit their credentials.

The Chairman then announced that, owing to the unusual situation which existed in America and in " The Old Land," and the very important business to come before the Convention, the Executive had extended invitations to be present to some prominent members whose experience and counsel would be at the disposal of the delegates. This action of the D.A. was unanimously ratified by the Convention.

A motion was then made that a recess be taken until 2.30 p.m. to enable the Committee on Creden-

tials to perform its work, and that a larger and more suitable hall be engaged in the meantime. The motion was passed and the Convention adjourned at 12 o'clock to meet again at 2.30 p.m.

On re-assembling in the new hall (Convention Hall, the largest in Boston) which had been secured by a local Committee during the recess, the password was again taken up and the minutes of the morning session read and approved. The Committee on Credentials made its report. As at the morning session, all present were directed to stand at the rear of the hall and, as his name was called, each delegate answered "present" and took his seat at the front. Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Convention were then elected.

The permanent officers of the Convention having taken their places, it was decided that the rules governing the last Convention be followed, pending the adoption of the report of the Committee on Rules, to be appointed. Special attention was called to the regulation forbidding the taking of notes by any delegate except the Secretaries of the Convention.

The Chairman, after expressing his appreciation of the honour conferred on him, pointed out the great importance of the present Convention, because of the danger which confronted the movement in America and the crisis that existed in Ireland, and the responsibility which rested on the delegates. He urged them to devote their best efforts to make the Convention a success and promote the interests of the Irish Republic.

A motion having been passed that the Chairman

appoint the Committees provided for in the Constitution, he asked the delegates from the various districts to confer and submit to him recommendations for appointment on the different Committees, so that every section would have representation as far as possible.

On a motion an invitation was extended to the members of the outgoing Executive to be present at the sessions of the Convention.

The Chairman of the D.A. presented his report reviewing the doings of the Executive and the work of the Organisation during the past two years. This report stated that the Organisation had gone through the worst ordeal it had experienced in the fifty-four years of its existence, but that it had emerged with its spirit unbroken and in a healthier and stronger condition than when the trouble began. It gave a detailed account, supported by documentary evidence, of the difference with Harry Boland, and told of the meeting of the D.A. on August 15th, 1920, at which an amicable settlement was reached and approved by Boland; how the Executive had faithfully carried out its part of the agreement, while Boland failed to perform his undertaking, namely that all newspaper attacks on the Organisation should be stopped and the falsehood that Justice Cohalan and John Devoy opposed President De Valera and the Bond Drive expunged from the records of Dail Eireann. Then, continued the report, when every difference had been satisfactorily settled and every detail of the agreement carried out except Boland's part, he, without any notice to the D.A., issued his public manifesto, cutting off the Clan-na-Gael

from communication with the I.R.B. This manifesto he sent to the Editor of *The Gaelic American* with a request for publication, and forwarded it simultaneously to the other papers, including the dailies, which, however, did not publish it. "It was the most unwarrantable action ever taken by the representative of an Irish organisation, it violated all tradition and precedent, and exposed to the public, for the first time in half a century, the private relations between two secret revolutionary organisations in a falsified and venomous form."

The report then gave a brief review of the facts and circumstances preceding and leading up to the split, so that the delegates could form a complete understanding of the situation created by it in Ireland and America, and asserted that a full consideration of the facts led inevitably to the conclusion that the split originated in an English plot, hatched at the British Embassy in Washington, to destroy or discredit certain leaders and divide the Irish in America. The report continued :—

"In order to, if possible, effect an amicable settlement of the trouble, a conference of men prominent in the movement was held at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York, on March 19th, 1920, which was attended by all the members of the Executive except two. . . . . On the previous day the Executive waited on President De Valera and endeavoured to effect an understanding with him, but he treated them with scant consideration. The proceedings of the Park Avenue Hotel Conference will be told you by some who were present, but all that needs to be said here is that he made a very painful impression on all present. After holding out stubbornly all day, President De Valera at last, on a public appeal from Boland and a very plain talk from Bishop Turner of Buffalo, yielded with apparent ill-grace to the agreement that we would continue to recognise him as spokesman for Ireland and that he would

leave the entire management of the movement in America in the untrammelled hands of the leaders here. At the instance of one of the men present, Bishop Turner imparted his blessing to President De Valera and Judge Cohalan, who received it on their knees. Then President De Valera, Justice Cohalan and John Devoy were lined up on the platform, all present filed past, shaking hands with the three as a recognition that peace and reconciliation had been effected. But before 24 hours had elapsed, President De Valera had broken the solemn compact and was making plans and combinations to renew his warfare and destroy our organisations."

The report then told of President De Valera's action in Chicago, and described his rejection of the plank in the Republican platform acknowledging the sovereign rights of Ireland, after the Committee on the platform had refused to accept one formally recognising the Republic, as an act of folly for which he must take full responsibility. His action made recognition of the Irish Republic in the near future infinitely more difficult. It was a most extraordinary *rôle* for the President of the Irish Republic to play, " but the facts stated are beyond the possibility of successful contradiction, and there are many more to sustain and reinforce them."

The report closed as follows :—

" Now as to the future. Your Executive is hopeful of a happy outcome of this most disagreeable situation. It has given the matter of resumption of relations with our friends in Ireland its most constant and earnest attention and consideration. We are in touch with our friends, and negotiations are progressing favourably. It is difficult to be more specific under the present conditions without endangering the prospects of success. If and when these efforts come to a successful conclusion, we pledge to this Convention on the part of the new Executive that such

information will be conveyed to our members at the earliest possible moment.

"With or without recognition from Ireland, there is a splendid programme of work before us. We have sent material help to the fighting men and we can help them more effectually by intensifying and broadening our work in the destruction of British influence in America, which must be finished before the struggle in Ireland can succeed. The Delegates to this Convention have the greatest possible opportunity ever given to men of the Irish race of making the plans which will accomplish that result and selecting the men to carry it to a successful conclusion. The old Organisation has been preserved for the finishing of that task. It has been strengthened and solidified, and we have no doubt that, with God's help and blessing, the splendid work of fifty-four years will be brought within measurable distance of final consummation before our next Convention. But our first and most pressing duty is to help the fighting men in Ireland by relieving their urgent necessities."

The report, which was signed by all the members of the D.A., was received with loud applause.

Some of the delegates expressed disapproval of the action of the Executive in having the Editor of the *Gaelic American* retract his criticisms of President De Valera's Cuban-Ireland illustration and his misuse of the Irish Republic Bond money in Chicago. They maintained that the charges were absolutely true and the criticism entirely justified, and should not have been withdrawn. The Chairman of the Convention pointed out that the withdrawal of the criticisms referred to was a concession for the sake of harmony on the part of the Executive and Bro. Devoy, and proved the extreme lengths they went to in order to preserve unity.

The D.O. of District 19 then read a resolution unanimously adopted at a general reunion of the

Organisation in Chicago, conveying to the outgoing Executive their unqualified approval of the policy pursued by them, and an urgent recommendation to the incoming Executive that membership in the Order be most jealously guarded and hereafter denied to all former officers who evinced disloyalty to its principles since the previous Convention.

A motion that the actions of the Executive be fully endorsed, its report received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, was passed unanimously.

The Secretary of the Executive then read his report. It gave the number of camps working, the number of members in good and bad standing, the amount of percentage received and funds in possession of the Clubs at the end of every term since the last Convention. It also gave the amount of money received by the Secretary and turned over to the defaulting Treasurer up to the time he seceded. A feature of the report which evoked loud applause was the increase in the number of camps working, the larger number of new Clubs organised, and a substantial increase in membership since the Convention of 1919. The report was referred to the Committees on Finance and State of the Organisation.

The Treasurer of the D.A. next submitted his report. It gave detailed accounts of receipts from every source and all expenditures during his term of office. The Treasurer handed to the Chairman of the Convention a certified check and cash covering the balance on hand. The report was referred to the Finance Committee for audit.

With regard to the funds retained by the seceding

Treasurer, it was stated that the estimated amount of the defalcation was about $10,000. The matter had been put in the hands of a law firm in New Jersey, and an action to recover the amount would be instituted as promptly as possible, " with good hope of success."

Some of the members who had been invited to the Convention and who had performed important work for the Organisation also delivered interesting addresses. It was then decided to hold a night session ; so the Conventionad journed at 6 o'clock, to meet again at 8.30 p.m.

On re-convening, the Committee on Credentials reported the arrival of additional Delegates and the verification of their credentials, after which the Chairman announced the appointment of the various Committees, and requested that each should announce its place of meeting, so that Delegates having recommendations to make or suggestions to offer could appear before them. He urged the Committees to perform their work as expeditiously as possible, so as to cause no unnecessary delay to the business of the Convention.

The Convention then adjourned until 10 a.m. the next day.

On re-assembling (after the minutes had been read and approved) the Chairman called for the reports of Committees which had been working during the night.

The Committee on Rules submitted a list of regulations to govern the proceedings and the transactions of the business of the Convention, which was adopted.

The Committee on Judiciary reported that no complaint or grievance was submitted to the Committee for consideration or adjustment, a fact which demonstrated the unity of the Organisation and the harmony of the Convention. The report was adopted and the Committee continued, for the transaction of any business which might be presented to it.

The Committee on Constitution and Ritual recommended some changes in the laws and ceremonies of the Organisation. These included an amendment providing better safeguards for the funds of the D.A. and one that the annual election of Camp Officers should take place at the first meeting in December, instead of the last. In the Ritual a few slight changes were made in the opening and closing ceremonies, and one in the obligation in which new members pledge themselves to sustain the American and Irish Republics.

On the motion of one of the Delegates the following amendment was made in the Declaration of Principles :—

"That this Organisation has for its object the preservation of the Independence of America and the recognition and maintenance of the Irish Republic now established."

Other proposed amendments, after being discussed, were referred to the incoming Executive.

The Finance Committee reported having audited the books of the present Treasurer and examined all vouchers, checks, receipts and expenditures during his term of office and found the same correct and the books carefully and systematically

kept. The Committee recommended that a plan adopted in District 1 to raise funds by voluntary subscription in aid of the fighting men in Ireland be extended by the incoming Executive to all other Districts.

This report made particular reference to the small cost at which the work of the Organisation is conducted, but considered it poor economy to pay the Secretary such a small salary and one which was not in keeping with the present cost of living. On a motion, the report of the Committee was received and its recommendations concurred in.

The Military Committee then made the following recommendations :—

1. That we recommend to the D.A. that there being no practical need of an organised military body, the energy and effort expended on such an organisation would be better employed along military lines of different character, at the same time giving our moral support to the units now in existence and advising their continuance where they are in nowise a financial burden on the Districts.

2. We recommend as a constructive measure the institution of a Military Intelligence Bureau under the direct supervision and operation of the D.A., having for its main object the collection of such data as might be considered of prime military importance. In this connection the Committee has in view the location and collection of stores and equipment : that they look to the establishment of lines of communication between this organisation and the fighting forces and the ensuring of the safe transportation of such material as the military commanders consider necessary.

3. That the D.A. be empowered to call to their service men who are acquainted with the most modern appliances of war for the purpose of applying the information acquired to the best interests of the cause. As England is now making merciless war on the Irish people, we are justified

in using all instruments of war on land and sea to destroy the strength of the British Empire.

4. That, failing the adoption of the foregoing, the Committee recommends to the Convention for its serious consideration the advisability of empowering the D.A. to co-opt a man of the necessary qualifications, who would be considered in the light of a military *aide* who would advise and counsel on purely military matters.

A motion that the report be received and the recommendations made therein submitted to the incoming Executive was adopted. A motion was also passed recommending the Executive to take into consideration the military experience of Colonel Anderson.

The other Committees not being ready to report, addresses were delivered by the Chairman and other prominent members regarding the condition of the movement in America and the conferences now taking place on the other side of the Atlantic. The concensus of opinion expressed was that the negotiations between " President De Valera " and " Premier Lloyd George " would result in a compromise on the Irish Republic, but that this Organisation should continue to support the men in Ireland who remain true to the Republican ideal.

A motion was passed empowering the Chairman to appoint a Special Committee to draft a pronouncement in relation to the present situation in Ireland.

The Convention adjourned at 1.15 to meet at 2.45 p.m.

On re-convening after adjournment and while awaiting the reports of the Committees which had not finished their work, District Officers and

Delegates from the different sections of the country made addresses regarding the conditions in their respective localities. All told the same tale of sending out so-called organisers, paid exorbitant salaries and expenses, and a lavish expenditure of the Irish Bond money for the evident purpose of destroying the Organisation. The Camps in almost every case stood firm, and whatever defection of members took place in some instances was soon counter-balanced by subsequent accessions to the ranks.

The Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to draft a pronouncement regarding the present situation in Ireland reported that each of its five members had drawn up a statement, any one of which he believed would meet with the approval of the delegates. He read one of these statements, which was applauded loudly. The Committee, however, recommended, "in view of the inadequate and possibly misleading news now appearing in the Press," and so that the Convention could not be accused of forming a premature or rash judgment, that the issuing of the pronouncement be postponed until more definite information is available regarding the outcome of the Conferences now taking place, when the Committee would submit its report to the Executive for publication. This recommendation of the Special Committee was adopted.

The Committee on State of the Organisation then presented its report. It highly commended the Executive for the able manner in which they had held the organisation intact through its most crucial period, with the splendid result that a great

increase in membership was shown, notwithstanding the onslaught made upon it. It was the unanimous opinion of this Committee that the time was now most opportune to strengthen the Organisation further and vastly increase its membership, and it was urged upon the Delegates to make this a special business on their return to their Camps. The Committee recommended that the incoming Executive be empowered to select capable men, who thoroughly understood the principles and working of the Organisation, " to be sent throughout the country to build up our membership." It also commended the work of Committees visiting the Camps, " which has been so successfully carried on in District 1," and the working of organisation Committees within the Camps for the purpose of securing new members and awakening delinquent ones to a sense of their obligation, and it recommended to the Convention that a similar policy should be adopted throughout the various Districts. This report was formally adopted.

A general discussion then ensued, several delegates making suggestions for the betterment of the Organisation. A delegate from District 3 pointed out that a great many residents of his section were members of Clubs in adjoining Districts, and on his motion it was recommended to the incoming Executive that new members should be requested to join the Camps nearest to their houses.

Several speakers referred to the necessity of a more general support of the Friends of Irish Freedom, and urged that all members should be requested to join, make their friends do likewise,

and organise new branches in sections where none now exist.

The Committee on Foreign Relations then made its report. It read in part as follows :—

" The resumption of relations with our friends in Ireland, from whom we have been most unwillingly separated because of false assertions on the part of a man invested by them with transitory jurisdiction, has engaged the active attention of your Executive in recent months. Those faithful custodians of your interests have given special attention to this particular phase of the situation, and it is with great satisfaction we find that they have succeeded in initiating negotiations which give promise to a great measure of success. We feel that, at this stage, our friends in Ireland realise that grievous mistakes were made by Ireland's official spokesman in this country, and are now more ready to give serious consideration to a recital of the true facts of the situation, as they developed here during the past two years.

" One of the main difficulties in re-establishing the old relations which existed between this Organisation and the I.R.B. lies in the fact that the Supreme Council of the latter is no longer the free agent it formerly was, and that its decision in matters of foreign policy are, to some considerable extent, dictated by men who are not members of it. On the other hand, however, we entertain hopes that the Fighting Leaders of the I.R.B. appreciate the injustice done to our Organisation and the consequent detriment to the cause of the Irish Republic ; also that they are of sufficient influence in the Irish Cabinet to insist on being given a free hand in bringing the negotiations now in progress between our Organisation and the I.R.B. to a successful conclusion.

" It is difficult to be more specific at the moment, without endangering the prospects of a settlement. If and when the result that we all desire is accomplished, we recommend that the incoming Executive promptly inform our members in such manner as in their judgment may seem advisable.

" Since that last Convention our Organisation has been instrumental in extending to the Irish Republic the

greatest amount of financial assistance. Through our representatives on the Councils of the Friends of Irish Freedom, our Organisation exercised its due influence in voting $263,000 for Ireland, which was sent directly or indirectly. Of this amount $90,000 reached—— (here the report named a man high in the Councils of the Republic, in the Irish Republican Army and in the I.R.B.). We are thus morally certain that a due proportion of this $90,000 was devoted to meeting the needs of the fighting men in Ireland—in other words, the carrying on of the work of the I.R.B. In addition to this, your Executive caused to be sent direct to ——, as an official of the I.R.B., the sum of $25,000 as part of the 25 per cent. of the Irish Victory Fund allocated for Ireland, to be used by him for the special requirements of the Home Organisation. The receipt for the foregoing $115,000, signed by the person named on the file, is with a trustworthy person, and we mention these facts because of the assertions made that our Organisation has, during the last two years, given no financial or other assistance to the Fighting Men in Ireland. We also wish to point out that with the raising of the Victory Fund, in 1919, largely through us and largely under our control, it was neither possible for us nor necessary for our Organisation to raise a separate larger fund in its own name. Neither was it possible nor necessary for us to raise a special fund under the auspices of our Organisation in 1920, in view of the avowed purposes of the Irish Bond Drive, as stated to us in the early stages of that campaign.

"We now feel, however, in view of the desperate efforts made by the opponents of this Organisation to shut us off from all activities on behalf of the Irish Republic, that the time has arrived for the members of this Organisation to take immediate steps whereby we can help to relieve the urgent necessities of the fighting men in Ireland. The exact manner in which this assistance can be rendered will depend on the negotiations now being carried on with the Home Organisation, but we are satisfied that it can and should be given. We recommend that the incoming Executive see to it that a special fund be raised without delay. Your Committee is satisfied that the Executive will disburse it to the best advantage for the above-mentioned purpose.

"With the hoped-for removal of the unjustified ban of outlawry imposed upon this Organisation, the scope of our activities in the field of foreign relations will again assume its proper status, and we confidently hope that the new Executive will avail itself of any improved conditions to exercise our full influence in securing the final success of the purpose of this Organisation, to which it has always stood true—the complete and absolute Independence of the Irish Republic."

The report of the Committee was received with applause and its recommendations were unanimously concurred in.

A motion was unanimously adopted directing the incoming Executive to renew contract with *The Gaelic American*. Several delegates pointed out the importance of extending the influence of the paper by securing new subscriptions and advertisers for it all over the country. The new D.A. was empowered to take whatever steps they deemed necessary to increase the circulation of the paper.

The fixing of the salary of the Secretary of the D.A. was left to the Executive with power, as was the matter of pensions to men and women who had suffered for their part in the work of the Organisation.

Resolutions of sympathy with Brothers Con K. O'Brien, of Denver, Colorado, and Thomas McNamara of Youngstown, Ohio, both of whom were dangerously ill, were passed by a rising vote; also a vote of sympathy to Brother O'Neill Ryan, of St. Louis, on account of illness of his family.

A vote of thanks was tendered to Bishop Callagher, of Detroit, "for the services he has

rendered and the sacrifices he has made in the cause of Irish Freedom."

The members of the outgoing D.A. then retired and a new Executive was elected. The members of the new body, having taken the prescribed obligation, were introduced and made short addresses. The usual votes of thanks having been passed to its officers, the Convention adjourned at 8.50 p.m.

* * * * * *

The following paragraph was appended to the above detailed report of the Convention supplied by my informant :—

Date.....1921.

This is to certify that the Synopsis of Proceedings of the Convention of 1921 *was read at a meeting of D.....situated in..... on.....*1921, *and destroyed in the presence of the meeting, according to instructions. We also certify that no copy of the said Synopsis has been made or retained by the Delegate or any officer or member of D.....*

.....*S. G.*

.....*J. G.*

* * * * * *

The Irish-American attitude needs no elaboration when the foregoing has been considered. Their societies would be robbed of all *raison d'etre* if Ireland became the Republic they dream of, and throughout the negotiations they have been the most persistent wreckers of attempts to formulate

a basis of agreement between Great Britain and Ireland.

Greater than their love for Ireland is their intense and vindictive hatred of Great Britain and the British Commonwealth. The pacification of Ireland will not stop Irish sedition in the Colonies or Irish-American hate in America. Their new outlets will be of necessity even more anti-social, and it is not unnatural to expect peculiar alliances between Irish Catholic communities and subversive labour and Bolshevik groups. And this development will not necessarily be aimed only at the British Empire, but will be manifested against Anglo-Saxon thought all over the globe. As America shares with the British Commonwealth a joint expression of those ideals which we term Anglo-Saxon, so Americans must be prepared to find their Irish difficult to educate to the true American standard. Even as I write, we are experiencing an attempt by the Irish-Americans to cause further trouble by supporting the conception of a Labour Republic in Ireland to the subversion of the existing Irish Free State.

CHAPTER XV

British and Irish 'Secret Service'—Sinn Fein Sovietism

It may not be out of place here to touch briefly upon the methods which have been adopted in recent years by the British Government for dealing with the Secret Societies of Ireland. In doing so it will be interesting to compare the efficiency of the much-vaunted Sinn Fein 'Secret Service' with that of the British Intelligence system.

In 1920 there was no existing British Intelligence system in Ireland. The Liberal activities of Mr. Bryce had swept away the old secret service mechanism of the Fenian days, and only the Foreign Office Intelligence kept in touch with Irish criminal affairs through their agents in America, most of whom were high in the councils of the Clan-na-Gael. The military were conducting a doubtfully efficient system of their own, but the main requisite of an effective intelligence system was not in existence.

Effective police work in a country like Ireland depends largely on one main principle, namely, an efficient local police force whose men know everybody in their area and are able to locate and deal with a stranger of any kind at once. In civilised communities the local policeman is the unit of intelligence and functions as the law-keeper largely

by the willing co-operation of the civil element who uphold social order. In Ireland the position of the police has always been peculiar, owing to the general lack of recognition by the natives of social obligations. The criminal element in Sinn Fein was not slow to appreciate this, and its ostracism of the police force was designed to break down the whole basis of official power. It was, so to speak, a blow at the very root of the legal machine.

The boycott of the police and the repeated murders of efficient and loyal Crown servants led to the breakdown of the whole normal mechanism of law, and in 1920 the greater part of the country was entirely lawless.

The appointment of General Tudor as Police Adviser was a step of the greatest importance. He visited the country, investigated the situation in person, initiated his police mission, and, within a few weeks, an entirely new intelligence mechanism was formed as part and parcel of the wholesale reorganisation of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

It is impossible to establish such an organisation as an immediately effective concern, for it is necessary that agents should slowly work their way to positions of importance and trust in the enemy ranks, an achievement which necessarily involves the passage of a considerable period of time.

The Sinn Feiners, on the other hand, had every possible advantage, for their men staffed the whole of the Irish Civil Service, and their control embraced the whole Customs Service, the Railroads, the Post Office and Telephone Systems, and most branches of Local Government. With all these

advantages—they failed. The British Government built up an extraordinarily effective Intelligence Service in the very heart of a hostile country, and I am able to state that of the corps of agents sent from England into Ireland only one was detected and murdered, although in some cases local agents, recruited in Ireland, were found out and murdered. A peculiar feature, which was extremely puzzling to the authorities, was the number of Irish who were killed by Sinn Feiners as 'spies,' who had nothing whatever to do with the authorities and who were guiltless of conveying information of any kind. In most cases it is thought that these were private murders, possibly in pursuit of old faction feuds, but carried out under the all-embracing Irish cloak of patriotism.

One of the first results of an efficient Government Intelligence Service was that it kept the leading Sinn Feiners "on the run," and their staff work was embarrassed thereby. Even so small a unit as a company of soldiers needs a regularly organised office to keep pace with the daily routine work. The activities of the police reduced the Irish Republican Army to keeping its whole staff work in a hand-bag, and at irregular intervals Mr. Richard Mulcahy, the 'Chief of Staff,' escaped only just in time, leaving the bag of papers as prey to the interested authorities.

The Government policy of continual 'grab-raiding' and the intermittent interception of postal and telegraphic communications broke down the whole system of the Sinn Fein Organisation, and at the period when the Truce was signed the Sinn Fein activists were practically beaten. They

had reached their maximum recruitment and their highest pitch of organisation—yet they were done.

Martial Law was proclaimed in certain areas but failed to function efficiently, because in point of fact it was only the substitution of Military Law and Procedure for the ordinary Civil Law. English Martial Law must in no wise be confused with the ruthless Continental system of Drumhead Court-martial—a system which has no place in English military law.

Doubtless the authorities are open to criticism in that they did not secure more convictions ; and although the British Court-martial system is in its procedure but a substitution of military judges for the usual judge and jury system, the mechanism of prosecution often broke down because of the impossibility of adducing legal proof when no witness dared come forward under pain of being assassinated by Sinn Fein.

Perhaps the most astounding circumstance of all in the suppression of Sinn Fein was that during the whole of 1919–1921 the British Government (which by many was supposed to be committing nameless atrocities on the innocent Irish) did not close the country to Press investigators or even to admittedly hostile political expeditions of Irish-Americans, extremist Labour representatives, and others. These deputations were received by Sinn Fein and sent on special propaganda tours. A fortnight in the hands of Sinn Fein usually sent the investigators back as confirmed Sinn Fein enthusiasts, but those whom circumstance obliged to stay a month or so went back convinced and voluble coercionists !

* * * * * *

To summarise the whole development of the Irish Secret Societies since 1500 A.D., it would be sufficient to say that their energies have been directed not only against Britain but against authority in whatsoever form directed. Latterly the Irish have thrown over the authority of the Catholic Church and have substituted for it a vague non-moral heresy of their own which I have been careful throughout this work to call the Irish Catholic Church, as distinct from the all-embracing world creed of Roman Catholicism. Here and there are passages, which, viewed in any other light, might give offence to earnest Catholics, but I trust that I have made my meaning and my differentiation clear.

Sinn Fein may slake its passions and obtain with the Free State what its personnel desires—the fruits of office ; but there is not room for all. The minority who do not obtain office will, in due course, become the popular party in Ireland, and there is only one political creed open to them. Beneath Sinn Fein lie the seeds of Sovietism ; Conolly's doctrine has not been spread in vain, and it is likely to become the rallying post of the disappointed. Even during the Truce of 1921, one or two untoward political manifestations occurred. Cork Harbour declared itself a Soviet ; Drogheda later followed suit.

In April, 1919, the proclamation of Limerick City as a military area led to a general strike. The National Labour Executive took the matter up, and Catral O'Shannon urged the Irish Socialist party to declare all Ireland a Soviet Republic. His colleague Johnson, who was attending the

Internationale at Berne, hastened home, while O'Shannon came to England to implore the help of extremists of British nationality and resident aliens. His appeal for concerted effort by the Bolsheviks of South Wales, the Clyde and Ireland "to end the white terror now prevailing" was, however, doomed to disappointment, for apparently the British revolutionaries were more interested in affairs nearer home.

The Limerick Soviet was already printing its own money, notes of from one to ten shillings finding circulation among the deluded. The Sinn Fein Government had, however, little use at the time for a rival republic in Ireland, and pressure and appeal destroyed the first Irish Soviet experiment.

In America the identity of interests between Irish-Catholic communities and extremist Labour organisations is increasingly manifest. Kindred phenomena have been noticed among the Irish in Australia. In the United States, Labour movements provide an excellent stalking-horse for covert interference in Irish affairs, and the Irish-American Labour League is an interesting body, which has, however, little connection with the real working man. Its President is Emmet O'Reilly; O'Flaherty, Editor of *The Irish People* is Vice-President; and Ryan, an official of the Warehousemen's Union, is organiser for New York. All three are members of the A.A.R.I.R., and the influence of the group on waterside affairs might conceivably be convenient to sympathisers engaged in gun-running to Ireland.

CHAPTER XVI

The Psychology of Irish Crime

The motives of members of Irish Secret Societies appear to a Briton to be wholly criminal; an Irishman, on the other hand, will deplore the method, but condone or even uphold the motive. Ideas on the subject of the psychology of the Irish Gael must necessarily be purely individual theories and may quite conceivably reinforce the old-established truism that the English can never understand the Irish. But, to my mind, the root of the matter lies in the inability of the Gael to conceive the abstract fetish of Law as it appears to the Briton and other dominant northern races.

The British are law-abiding, not because they are stupid, long-suffering or indolent, but because they have a natural reverence for the law as the foundation of social stability. This conception of social order and mutual responsibility for the benefit of the State as a whole is largely lacking among the Irish people of the South and West. The imposition of English Law, or indeed any form of law, has always savoured to them of tyranny and oppression, and has been repugnant to them not so much as a hindrance to their national self-expression, but as a personal matter, as a bar to personal self-expression. To the Irish the law has

always seemed an objectionable obstacle to that ideal condition of lawlessness (for want of a better word) which corresponds with the Irish concept of freedom.

The real objection to constitutional agitation and evolution by Parliamentary means appears to have been, throughout the ages, the native inability of the Irish masses (owing to their volatility) to endure any agitation without at once breaking out into turbulence and disorder. Many have blamed the Irish Catholic Church for its policy of neglecting to educate the common people, its failure to condemn rancour and to prohibit perpetuating the memory of feuds. But the root of the trouble goes deeper.

The awakening of the 'national conscience,' which has been the joint work of the Sinn Fein party, the Gaelic League, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Gaelic Athletic Association and half a dozen other open and subterranean movements, has evolved (or re-awakened) a peculiar national spirit in which Catholic or any other morality is replaced by a spirit more closely akin to imperfectly understood Nietzschism than to any parallel European school of thought.

Fervid revolutionary Gaels now even claim that an Irishman, James Conolly, who was executed for his share in the 1916 revolution, was in effect the founder of modern Bolshevism, and that the Bolshevik theories are, in practice, nothing but a return to the Golden Age of the Gaelic Kultur period! As a philosophic abstraction, it is possible that this period was a preferable civilisation, but in view of cold historical fact, it is doubtful.

A Briton of normal views will barely entertain the suggestion.

The passionate national enthusiasm which animates a Dublin grocer's assistant to go in cold blood with a score of comrades to assassinate an English Court-martial officer in his bed needs further analysis than this. It is admittedly an impersonal crime ; a cold-blooded political murder. Court-martial officers are not high in rank, nor are they great personalities in the legal machine. They are simply subaltern officers whose duty is the administration of the law, a purely impersonal task. They are not persecuting judges abusing a legal system, and, if anything, a British Court-martial gives wider scope for the escape of offenders than does a properly constituted civil court. Yet, in the eyes of the Irish, these officers (and in the case of the Dublin murders of Sunday morning, November 21st, 1920, not one of them had ever passed a death penalty on any rebel) become " murderers " and fit subjects for assassination—*because they represent the law.*

It takes more than fanatical, misguided patriotism to bring a normal civilised human being to this point of view ; yet Sinn Fein (including clergy of the type of Father Dominic, the Franciscan monk who acted as private chaplain to the Lord Mayor of Cork, who starved himself to death) sympathised with and even applauded the action.*

Hatred is born of fear, and it is difficult to imagine a capacity for hate without some sense of fear of present or future possibility of injury by

* *The Administration of Ireland*, 1920, by ' I.O.', pp. 393, 394.

the hated. The hatred of the criminal for the policeman (a well-marked national feature of the Irish in their hatred of the police) is due to fear of the consequences of ill-doing. The sedulous propaganda of societies devoted to restoring the Gael preached hatred of all things English, and this gospel of hate became a seedling of fear, which grew until the inseparable conditions of fear and rancour obsessed the minds of apostles and converts alike.

The Gaelic movement has led to a renaissance of Irish intellectualism to a certain extent; but, unfortunately, this awakening has not been accompanied by that progress in ethics which alone could make the Irish fit for self-government. The Gaelic movement was the educative phase of the revolution of 1920, in that it developed the national consciousness; but, in its insistence on Irish superiority in every conceivable thing, it brought into play unwittingly laws of psychology which were probably not known to the leaders of the movement. It is a root law that the subconscious knowledge of inferiority in any respect leads to the conscious assertion of superiority. Thus the man who knows he is timid is constantly at pains to impress you that he is valorous; the man who overasserts his meticulous honesty is at heart a thief. So the Irish, in their violation of law in pursuit of their phantom freedom, exhibit a conscious national reaction against their national characteristics.

The Sinn Fein party took the "murder gangs" under their political protection, wilfully ignoring the fact that murder is still a crime, even though it may seem for the moment to be politically ex-

pedient. They adopted the reactionary concepts of the politics of the middle ages, when politics, as defined by Machiavelli, were a blend of perfidy and fortuitous assassination ; and unfortunately they have not yet realised that in the whole history of the world these methods have never attained lasting success.

Sinn Fein propagandists and apologists claimed that the Irish were pursuing a form of " guerilla warfare " and that this should be recognised under the laws of war—which laws expressly exclude guerilla warfare by *franc tireurs*. It must be confessed that the Irish conception of warfare, as shown by them in Ireland, is simply covert assassination, and their national acceptance of murder as " legitimate warfare " is difficult to reconcile with the tenets of civilised Christian nations. Neither the Dail Eireann nor any leader of note has condemned the murder movement, and it was not until a portion of the Southern Irish city of Cork had been burnt in reprisal after a peculiarly outrageous and murderous attack on police within the city boundaries that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, Bishop Cohalan, excommunicated the criminals who took part in such assassinations. The remainder of the Irish Bishops failed to follow his example and promulgate decrees of excommunication, a step which the Irish have not hesitated to interpret as licence to murder with the sanction of their Church.

The extent to which clerical influence could control the criminal youth of Ireland is doubtful, because the type of Catholic Church teaching in Ireland is not the Roman Catholicism of Europe

or the United States save in its external forms ; in actual expression it is a reactionary emotionalism which is, in essence, superstitious rather than spiritual. The Irish Priesthood is of the Irish race : the bulk of the younger clergy are intense politicians and tend to usurp political functions entirely beyond the scope of the clergy in other countries. They were ardent in the Gaelic movement, they permeated the Sinn Fein party, and the extremist views of the younger priests have been demonstrated repeatedly. The success of the secret societies and the revolutionary movements is the measure of the failure of the Irish Catholic Church in its primary duties of education and the maintenance of morality.

By the law of the Roman Catholic Church, membership of any secret oath-bound organisation is forbidden ; yet throughout the centuries Irish Catholics have been members of these criminal bodies, despite all interdicts. In the main, the secret societies are anti-clerical as well as anti-social, but it does not necessarily follow that the anti-clerical conspirator is agnostic or atheist. He may, if he is an Irishman, continue to conspire and yet be, according to his lights, devout.

There is no doubt that the bulk of the I.R.A. sincerely believed that their actions had moral sanction, and that their acts of crime were acts of legitimate warfare. Yet fanaticism alone is not the motive of all murderers, and it is possible that fear of being shot by their comrades forced many of the weaker members to play their part. The inspirers of murder saw to it that all who could be swept into the mutual peril of the rope were so

brought in, and from the Mulcahy Papers we learn that the Irish Republican soldier who succeeded in achieving an assassination drew " skull money " from Dail Eireann funds as a reward.

Against this system of reward for success there was the penalty for failure. The selected assassin of the Irish Republican Brotherhood who is suspected of faint-heartedness is, in some cases, sent out, not alone, but with a bodyguard of comrades who have a double duty to fulfil. They are not only a bodyguard to facilitate the assassin in his deed and his escape. Should he weaken in his resolution, should fear, pity or terror of the laws of God and man induce him to spare his victim, then the bodyguard become executioners and forthwith murder the recreant brother. Should they fail, they in turn become responsible for their lives to this monstrous murder society which is the manifestation of Irish " patriotism."

The outstanding fact about the Irish Secret Societies is that, while criminal organisations of this nature have existed and still exist in other countries, during modern times such murder gangs have been composed of a handful of civil and fanatical extremists. Every nation has its share of criminal degenerates, but the proportion of the populace of Ireland which belongs to these associations must form a disquieting index of national character.

Crime cannot be explained as other than the outcome of individual free-will, but criminal sociologists are divided in their opinion with regard to the proportionate value of the contributory causes, some holding anthropological phenomena

of greater importance than the sociological pressure incentives and psychology.

Political crime in Ireland is a special study in social pathology, for it is perhaps the one country where a peculiarly virulent type of political crime exists and where the community itself lacks the normal capacity for self-defence against organised criminal activities. These conditions of predisposition to violent political crime and lack of resistance to the infection appear to be transmitted hereditarily and to be independent of environment (for they appear no less markedly in the Irish-American communities, as the history of the Molly Maguires of Pennsylvania shows); for they are a marked feature of Irish history before the British conquest of Ireland.

The student of Irish social history is, therefore, at length confronted by the question—'what proportion of the Irish, if not congenitally criminal, is yet racially disposed to crime?' Indeed, if we consider the so-called "typical Irishman" as an impulsive, irresponsible, temperamental individual, casual about paying his debts, full of "Celtic charm" or whimsicalness, we get an equation which can be set down in more direct English thus: '*Judged by English standards*, the "typical Irishman" has two psychical and fundamental abnormalities, namely, moral insensibility and want of foresight.' It is precisely these two factors which are the basic characteristics of criminal psychology.

To quote Professor Enrico Ferri:* "Moral

* Probably the most advanced authority on criminal sociology in Europe. He has recently been appointed to remodel the whole Italian penal system.

insensibility, which is decidedly more congenital than contracted, is either total or partial, and is displayed in criminals who inflict personal injuries . . . . It is characterised by a lack of repugnance to the idea and execution of the offence previous to its commission, and the absence of remorse after committing it.

" From this fundamental inferiority of sentiment there follows an inferiority of intelligence which, however, does not exclude certain forms of craftiness, though it tends to inability to foresee the consequences of crime . . . . Thus the psychology of the criminal is summed up in a defective resistance to criminal tendencies and temptations, due to that ill-balanced impulsiveness which characterises children and savages."

Yet it is obvious that in assessing Irish crime differential diagnosis must be applied to the varying types of offender. A large number of the rank and file of the Sinn Fein movement are merely juridical criminals in that they are weak and ill-balanced people largely dominated by the political mood of the moment and are not necessarily men of outstanding moral depravity. This is a matter of considerable legal difficulty, and in substituting internment camps for prison in the case of unimportant rebels the authorities undoubtedly did wisely. The rank and file of the rebels were largely composed of adolescent youths with an instinctive tendency to law-breaking which they hold to be a sign of virility. This phase is of obviously atavistic origin, and is most strongly marked among the Irish of the South and West.

Apart from the factor of the criminal pre-

disposition of many Irish as individuals, the vitally important factor of collective psychology must be considered.

The Irish demand for an independent Irish Republic is, so far as the mass of the people is concerned, a purely hysterical manifestation. It is not a matter which touches them personally at all, and in my own experience less than five per cent. of the Sinn Fein prisoners, interrogated by a friendly guardian, could give any coherent idea of why they were Republican. They have been told that it is patriotic to be Republican, and the Republican slogan has been identified with the concept of anti-British manifestations ever dear to the Irish. A glance at the graphic tabulation of the outrage curve for every year since 1848 will show that the connection between violent crime and popular agitation is a well-marked feature of Irish life. In other words, in Ireland pandemic psychosis leads to an outburst of latent criminal or atavistic tendencies.

Pandemic psychosis of a political or religious nature would seem to depend upon a basis of fanatical ignorance for its success; in this way, movements which would be abortive failures among the nordic races of Europe achieve success in Ireland, where credulity and fanaticism are still dominant factors in spite of a century of well-meant British endeavour. The Russian peasantry was equally the medium of the Bolsheviks.

The chief characteristic of pandemic psychosis is its tendency to spread like some physical plague. It flies from mind to mind, just as influenza or small-pox spreads in bodily infection, and shows

itself as a dynamic mental contagion. The widespread mechanism of the criminal secret societies provided the open Republican organisation of Sinn Fein with an existent system for the distribution of this mental virus throughout the body politic of Southern and Western Ireland. The younger people caught the plague at once.

There are two dominant characteristics of this type of mental contagion. The first is a complete surrender of the normal reasoning factor to the emotional or sentimental factor. This is typical of the thought processes of children, some types of criminals, savages, and the lower classes of certain races. In all these the reasoning factor is not sufficiently developed in its control of the faculties, and common-sense is superseded, or stampeded, by irrational sentimental or emotional impulses. The second characteristic is imitativeness, and this natural faculty of imitativeness, so strongly marked in certain criminal types, is one of the oldest, most primitive, attributes of mankind.

The aberrations of pandemic psychosis amount to a reversal of the normal logical processes of thought, and this extends not only to the basic hysterical delusion, but to all the tactical methods by which the affected try to convince a critical world that they alone are right.

Dr. James H. Lloyd, M.D., an American psychologist of note, in an article on mental contagion, does not mention the Irish problem, but the following paragraph indicates that it has not escaped his attention :

" You can more easily convince some people by a hunger-strike than you can with a lecture on

mental contagion. They will not, or cannot, see that a man who substitutes his stomach for his reason as umpire of his cause, and stakes the morality of his case on his ability to withstand starvation, is dangerously near to lunacy. His fight is no better than the old ordeal by fire and water, or the old wager of battle—and it is not nearly so picturesque."

There is one more factor which needs consideration in this short presentation of Irish criminal psychology, and that is the vicious circle of those who are not Irish but sustain the Irish in their orgy of crime. These " Irish sympathisers " are, for the most part, morbid types, such as we find busying themselves with all kinds of impracticable schemes of moral reform. Like the Lemures of ancient mythology, they seem to be attracted by the scent of blood, and there is a sound psychological basis for this peculiarity. It may well be questioned by the student of psychology whether the anti-vivisectionist who declaims ecstatically about the sufferings of dumb animals is impelled to do this because of an exquisite sensibility, or because such outcry is the expression of his conscious mind fighting down a savage and depraved sub-consciousness which adores cruelty for its own sake.

The translation of political passion into mob-violence is a common phenomenon in many countries, but the psychology of the leading revolutionaries is not so clearly understood. It is usually deemed to be self-interest, but we cannot safely interpret this expression in the simple terms of grasping wealth or power : it may be that much

more dangerous thing, the pursuit of an inner vision.

The revolutionist is the devotee of a doctrine of disintegration. The ardent nationalist does not recognise this ; indeed, he is convinced that he is playing a noble part as one who is bringing about a renascence of national unity ; his colleague, the social revolutionary, goes further, in that he wishes to establish a false meridian of class-equality —a thing which is impossible only because of man's nature. Both develop a militant hostility towards the existing systems and their abuses, and both preach war—the one against the inter-dependent multi-nation unit, the other against the multi-class unit of society.

These two types attract one another by reason of their common militancy, and to them are attracted others possessed of a desire to destroy or disintegrate some existing social order, system, religion, or privilege, men possessed or persuaded of grievances, naturally turbulent folk who enjoy destruction, and self-seeking elements who perceive a promise of opportunity or of snatching place or plunder from the upheaval.

Genuine inspired fanatics are rare, but here and there among these movements occur leaders who find in their belief the fervid faith and exalted emotion associated with the mysteries of religion. Such men become the most terrible missionaries of their endeavour ; for, by argument and example, they animate others ; their writings render their creed familiar to men's minds, so that when brought into contact with agitators who proclaim the new revolution, they are the more easily induced to

accept it. Their enthusiasm animates their disciples, and fiery youth in particular is susceptible to their magnetic influence. These men are mystics and enjoy a kindred internal life and communion common to such types among religious votaries.

It was customary at one time to speak of the many associations which had embraced the doctrines of the French Revolution as " Illuminated," and the spread of these doctrines was associated with the society of the *Illuminati*, founded by Weisshaupt in 1776. Mrs. Nesta H. Webster, in her excellent books on the French Revolution and World Revolution, somewhat esteems the *Illuminati* as a potent secret society still existing and directed by a Prussian, and conceivably by a Jewish, design to achieve world dominion. The latter hypothesis, however, she admittedly puts forward only tentatively, and on the basis of extremely dubious documents,* and holds rather that the Jewish revolutionary element is mainly a cat's-paw and is only used as a tool by German interests.

But the essential point (which seems to have escaped many students, though familiar to many contemporary writers on the subject) is that the whole influence of the *Illuminati* was psychological, and that the organisation, albeit a secret society, was, in point of fact, a *sect*. Indeed, the title of one of the works dealing with it (a pamphlet attributed to the Marquis de Luchet) is ' *Essai sur*

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* *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. Since exposed by *The Times* newspaper.

la Secte des Illuminés.' The higher initiates of Illuminism were subjected to certain rituals which produced a condition that modern psychologists would recognise as a state of suggestibility, and both suggestion and auto-suggestion appear to have played definite parts in the ritual of the education of neophytes. Such societies still exist and are by no means inactive.

The secret sectarian association of a body of mystics utilising suggestion and possibly other devices for the production of self-induced exaltation may seem to many critical readers a far-fetched and speculative interpretation of the *Illuminati*; but I may remind them that, at the time of the Crusades and during the existence of the Templars, the instituted sect of the *Assassins*, founded by Hassan Saabah (a mystic of the Lodge of Cairo), was in effective existence, and was furthermore an order with seven degrees of adeptship, and a secession from the Sufi or Ismaelite school.* Thus the secrets of the origin of the seemingly unexplained spontaneous achievements of Weisshaupt must be sought, not among the political historians of his time, but in the twilight of ' magic ' as it was then understood, and in the lumber-room of forgotten heresies.

The latter work of the *Illuminati* was to co-ordinate the anti-social doctrines which were the ultimate issue of their exaltation, with contemporary world-politics. In achieving this, they promulgated certain erroneous theories which later

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* Von Hammer : *History of the Assassins*, a valuable work derived from original oriental sources.

played havoc, and still continue to play havoc, in the world. It is necessary to add that these disintegrating doctrines are not the true secret doctrines embodied in the teachings of those few secret mystical associations which still hold certain transcendental philosophies, and further that Illuminism and its descendants have never obtained the slightest foothold in any of the Lodges, Chapters or other assemblies controlled by the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in England.

This discursion into fields seemingly far distant from the Irish Secret Societies of to-day I have interpolated, firstly in order to show that the connection between revolutionary fervour and mysticism is not necessarily concerned with the sentiment of nationality; secondly, to indicate that the theory of Jewish super-plotters as a necessary ingredient to all and every revolution is not, to my mind, based on adequate premises. Schools of subversive thought long antedated the Christian era, and they were not necessarily confined to either the Arab or the Judean branches of the Semitic race, but were held by other totally distinct peoples. Ireland, indeed, seems to have been as little affected by Jews as the Cannibal Islands, and was probably looked upon by them as a land possessing no greater attractions, having neither that element of prosperity nor development of commerce which attracts the chosen, but discriminating, race. On the other hand, Irish revolutionary Labour is known to be in close touch with Russian-Jewish revolutionary organisations, and it is possible that alien forces may yet play an important part in Ireland's history.

Alphonse Louis Constant, who, under the name of 'Eliphas Levi' was, perhaps, the last of those strange people who attempted to preach and practise the transcendental magic of the schools of the middle ages amid the welter of the nineteenth, says in his book on the History of Magic : *

"There is nothing more dangerous than mysticism, for the mania which it begets baffles every combination of human wisdom. It is ever the fools who upset the world, and that which great statesmen never foresee is the desperate work of a maniac. The architect of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus promised himself eternal glory, but he counted without Erostratus. The Girondins did not foresee Marat. . . . . The German thaumaturgists regarded Napoleon as the Apollyon mentioned in the Apocalypse, and one of their neophytes, named Stabs, came forward to kill the military Atlas who, at the given moment, was carrying on his shoulders a world snatched from the chaos of Anarchy. . . . . Carl Sand, who killed Kotzebue, was also an unfortunate derelict child of mysticism, misled by the secret societies in which vengeance was sworn upon daggers. Kotzebue may have deserved cudgelling, but the weapon of Sand reinstated and made him a martyr. It is indeed grand to perish as the enemy and victim of those who wreak vengeance by means of ambuscades and assassinations."

The vein of mysticism is one of the distinctive

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* *The History of Magic*, by Eliphas Levi, translated by A. E. Waite. Chap. IV, pp. 399-440. NOTE.—Constant died in 1875, fortified by the last rites of the Church.

traits of the Irish people ; indeed, it is the outstanding feature of their poetry and literature. It is usually noted as one of the dominant features of the Celtic temperament ; and so long as it is retained in its proper channel—the beatification of the highest attributes of Nature and Man—it is obviously a power for good. The doctrine of blood sacrifice and the sanctification of causes by the blood of self-sought martyrdom or by self-starvation, must be looked upon as a perversion of mystic religious tendency, a prostitution of certain peculiar gifts of the spirit to the service of the false gods of tribalism.

Unfortunately, mysticism is all too often only the outcome of too severe reaction from the passions and is intimately connected with sex-psychology. Whether revolutionaries are aware of it or not, their morbid discontent with existing society, and their perfect willingness to embark on a course of action which will bring death and ruin to thousands, and even to themselves, in pursuit of a grand experiment or an inner vision, is not a wonderful self-sacrifice but merely a perverted form of self-gratification. The communist who talks glibly of shooting down the bourgeoisie is gratifying a perverted instinct with the prospect of a wholesale blood bath. The visionary who rushes to martyrdom for a cause gratifies once and for ever his masochistic propensity.

It has been said that the Irish derive keen pleasure from the woes with which they cause themselves to be afflicted ; and pleasure in pain is typical—significantly typical—of many of the conditions which I have outlined above. And

when it is understood in its true bearing on the psychology of revolution and of revolutionaries, it must destroy the fine illusions and the glamour that, to some minds, hung about the leaders of "the murder gangs." There is nothing particularly fine about a group of moral decadents leading a superstitious minority into an epidemic of murder and violent crime; yet this is what has happened of recent years in Ireland, it is what has happened time and again in the past, and it is what will happen again in the future; for the Irish problem is a problem of the Irish *race*, and is neither a by-product of politics nor of environment, but is rooted in the racial characteristics of the people themselves.

APPENDIX A

Illuminism and the United Irishmen

The influence of Illuminism was noted by the Hon. R. C. Clifford, who, in 1798, published *The Application of Barruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism to the Secret Societies of Ireland and Great Britain.* Editions of this pamphlet appeared both in London and Dublin, and copies are to be found in the Library of the British Museum, though it is not catalogued among the elaborate series of tracts dealing with Irish affairs preserved in the Irish Office.

This contemporary opinion of Clifford was also held by J. Robinson, an English Freemason, who was horrified by and exposed the subversive doctrines held by the spurious Continental Lodges of the period. His book, entitled *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe,* published in 1797, reinforced the disclosures of the Abbé Barruel; and, as we have seen, the formation of the Orange Society on a pseudo-masonic basis in 1795 showed that the governing classes were keenly aware of the dangers of Jacobinism in Ireland and had wisely established a defensive counter-organisation.

The most highly-placed Jacobin who appears to have visited Ireland was the notorious Rabaud St. Etienne, the friend and colleague of Brissot

and the Girondists, who, according to Sir R. Musgrave's Memoirs, came to Ireland in 1791–92. Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, Hamilton Rowan and Simon Butler were all high in rank in the Lodges, but in general, the Irish malcontents of the Catholic Association were more interested in the political revolution, and only the Northern Radicals had at heart the principles of the social revolution which was the essence of the doctrine of Illuminism.

The first French agent to fall into the hands of the Government was the Rev. W. Jackson, who, in 1794, bore messages to Wolfe Tone from the French Government. The authorities, aware of his mission through their Secret Service, had him arrested and he committed suicide in prison.

The United Irishmen, organised in 1791, was, states Clifford, based on Illuminism. " The proposals for it are couched in the style and exact terms of the Hierophants of Illuminism. They recommend the formation of an association or, as it is styled, ' a beneficent conspiracy to serve the people,' assuming the secrecy and somewhat of the ceremonial attached to Freemasonry."

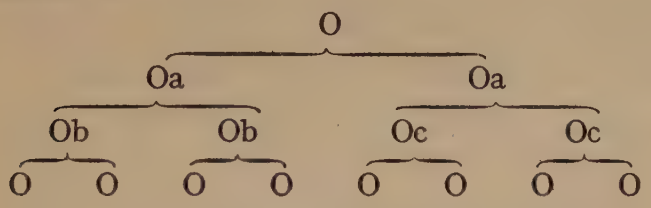
" Every member has to wear, day and night, an amulet round his neck, containing the Great Principle which unites the Brotherhood, in letters of gold on a ribbon striped with all the original colours."*

This end or " Great Principle " was the Jacobin slogan, " The Rights of Man in Ireland."

Clifford then sketches the parallel systems of organisation pursued by Weisshaupt's *Illuminati* and Tone's *United Irishmen.*

* Clifford, p. 2.

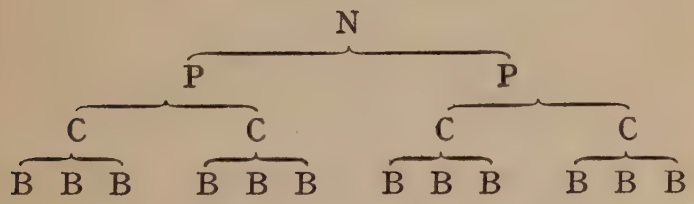
Weisshaupt's system is shown in diagram as follows :—



and he explained it to his disciple, Zwack, thus :—

> " Immediately under me I have two adepts into whom I infuse my whole spirit, each of these corresponds with two others, and so on. . . . . In a word, every man has his Aid Majors, by whose means he immediately acts on all the others. Each one subjects, as it were, to his own person two men whom he searches to the bottom, whom he observes, disposes, inflames and drills, as it were, like recruits, that they may thereafter exercise and fire the whole regiment."*

The original organisation of the United Irishmen is shown by Clifford in the following diagram :—



N. stands for National Committee, P. for the Provincial, C. for County, B. for Baronial, under which were the individual Lodges. At first a

* *Ibid*, p. 13 and 14.

Lodge consisted of 36 members, but, when the Society was militarised, the Lodge unit was reduced for greater secrecy to twelve, and each grade was organised in groups of ten. Thus :—

1 Lodge of 12 men	=	12 men.
1 Baronial Committee, representing 10 Lodges	=	120 ,,
1 Upper Baronial Committee, representing 10 Baronial Committees ...	=	1,200 ,,
1 District Committee, representing 10 Upper Baronial Committees ...	=	12,000 ,,
1 County Committee, representing 4 Districts	=	48,000 ,,
1 Provincial Committee, representing 2 Counties	=	96,000 ,,

Representation of the four Provincial Committees was by Delegate to the National or Executive Committee governed by the Chairman, and the total paper man-power was 384,000 men.

" No person whatever could mention the names of the Committee-men, they were not even known to those who had selected them in the case of the National or Executive Committee. . . . . Thus was the Society entirely governed by unknown superiors."*

The power of the Organisation was jealously kept in the hands of the Executive, and even the relatively powerful County Committees were unaware of the details of the plan of French co-operation, and the rank and file, and even Masters of Lodges, knew nothing but the strict injunction—to wait for orders.

" What unhappy deluded people, then, were

* *Ibid*, p. 6.

these lower associates, who were informed of nothing, but were to be the mere agents of rebellion and murder, and were hurried on into this abyss of honour by a few political libertines who grasped at dominion and wished to wade to the helm of the State through the blood of their countrymen."*

The foregoing note of Clifford's shows that even in 1798 the unshakable credulity of the Irish was even better recognised than it is to-day.

The ' Lodges ' or circles of the Brotherhood of United Irishmen must not be confused with either the general Masonic Lodges or the lesser-known *Arrières Loges* which Clifford translates as ' Occult Lodges.' These latter were the higher degrees of French or ' Illuminated Masonry.' The Lodges of the Brotherhood were simply unit circles of conspirators, but Central Societies or higher degree Lodges of the more intellectual leaders of the movement were functioning both in Dublin and in Belfast, and were in close contact with the French sources.

The creed of the *Illuminati* and allied revolutionaries of the period involved the complete subversion of existing society and the establishment of Equality. Morality and Religion were alike held to be restrictive figments, and men were to need ' *neither princes nor Governments.*' Property was represented as the enemy of Liberty and Equality. The ' Mercantile Tribe,' industrialists and capitalists, were held to be the most dangerous and despotic of powers.

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* *Ibid*, p. 12.

The Central Lodges appear to have been more 'revolutionary' than 'nationalist,' in that the real leaders were more interested in the spread of revolutionary doctrine and the creation of a revolution on French Terrorist lines than they were in the independence of Ireland as a secession from British rule.

The latent tendency of the Irish to commit organised assassinations for political ends was soon aroused, and by May 7th, 1797, a plot had been laid by certain members of the Brotherhood to assassinate Lord Carhampton. The plotters were betrayed and arrested.*

Assassination was part and parcel of the method of the Illuminated Lodges, and readiness to commit 'tyrannicide' was the moral lesson conveyed in the rite of the degree of the Knights of Kadosch.

The degree to which Continental ritual was adopted by the United Irishmen is not clearly ascertained. The initiation involved sponsors, an oath, and a grip and password. The probability is that, with the Orange Society on the one hand and the Defenders on the other, the promoters steered clear of the introduction of ritual which might clash with existing rites or arouse hostilities between the rival groups.

Had the rising of '98 been successful, Ireland would have been plunged not only into war with England but into a general revolution and class war. No alternative scheme of government or administration appears to have been thought out

* Report of the Trials of Carty and Dunn, 1797.

by the leaders of the movement, and a designed condition of general anarchy would have resulted.

A kindred design for the production of chaos as the preliminary to a new social order is still a characteristic belief of the advanced Labour Republican groups in Ireland ; but in this century the external impetus comes rather from the Russo-German organisation than from France.

APPENDIX B

Ribbon Men

The Catholic control of the Ribbon Organisation has always been denied by those interested in hiding the relations which have always existed, and still exist, between Irish secret societies and Irish Roman Catholicism.

In 1828, when the Catholic Association assumed form, "No feature of Irish society alarmed the Government and all reflecting men more than the sudden and total cessation of Irish crime. That which, if it had come about gradually and as a consequence of improved prosperity or education, was now ominous and alarming, as showing the power of the Catholic leaders and the strength of their Organisation. At the bidding of these men, feuds were suspended; factions met and acted as brethren; and men mastered their strongest propensities in order to become vast soldiery for the achievement of political objects."*

Daniel O'Connell, the 'Liberator' of Ireland, did not approve of Continental Liberalism, and at the time of the French Revolution of 1830 he declared his principles. "I, a Liberal! No! I despise the French Liberals. I consider them the enemies, not only of religion, but of liberty; and

* H. Martineau, *History of England*, Vol. I, p. 47.

I am thoroughly assured that religion is the only sane basis of human freedom."

James Conolly, in *Labour in Irish History*, takes the view that the Ribbon Men were really a secret industrial trade union for the protection of labourers and small farmers.

The Ribbon Men were so seamed with subdivisions—Whiteboys, Rockites, Tenyalts, Lady Clare's Boys, and so on, that it is not clear to anyone whether the Ribbon Organisation of 1832 had any politics beyond agrarianism and Catholic sectarianism. As Whiteboys they certainly were at political and practical war with the Orangemen, and throughout their activities appear to have been criminal and anti-social, outrage, terrorism and murder being their only methods of political conversion.

APPENDIX C

The Sinn Fein Oath

" *Tract No.* 10.

" I swear by the Almighty God, by all in heaven and upon earth, by the Holy and Blessed Prayer Book of our Church, by the Blessed Virgin Mary and Mother of God, by her Sorrowings and Sufferings at the foot of the Cross, by her Tears and Wailings, by St. Patrick, by the Blessed and Adorable Host, by the Blessed Rosary and Holy Beads, by the Holy and Blessed Church in all ages and by our Holy National Martyrs, to fight until we die, wading in the fields of Red Gore of the Saxon Tyrants and Murderers of the Glorious Cause of Nationality, and if spared, to fight until there is not a single vestige and a space for a footprint left to tell that the Holy Soil of Ireland was trodden on by the Saxon Tyrants and the Murderers, and moreover, when the English Protestant Robbers and Beasts in Ireland shall be driven into the sea, like the swine that Jesus Christ caused to be drowned, we shall embark for and take England, root out every vestige of the accursed Blood of the Heretics, Adulterers and Murderers of Henry VIII, and possess ourselves of the treasures of the Beasts that have so long kept our beloved Isle of Saints, our Ireland, in chains of bondage, and driven us from our genial shores to settle in foreign lands,

and shall wade in the blood of Orangemen and Heretics who do not join us and become one of ourselves. Scotland, too, having given her aid and succour to the Beasts we shall leave in her Red Gore and shall not give up the conquest until we have our Holy Father complete ruler of the British Isles as he was before the Reformation. To all this, singly and collectively, I swear to fulfil as before mentioned with my eyes blinded, not knowing whom to me administers this oath, so help me God.

" Among the questions and answers that follow we read :—

" *Question :* What do you think of the times ; will they be good ?

" *Answer :* I think they will.

" *Question :* At what time ?

" *Answer :* When we have a general shower of Protestant and Heretic blood.

" The above is an exact copy of the Sinn Fein oath taken from one of them during the riots in September, 1920, near Belfast, Ireland, this copy coming to America through an American citizen from Ulster, who has been there since late Spring, 1920, with relatives, he having seen all the riots about Belfast (notably the bloody 12th July).

" This Roman Catholic Irish oath had the stamp and seal of the Irish Republic on it.

" These oaths are furnished at 25 cents per 100, or 2 dollars per 1000.

Address : The Rail Splitter, Milan III."

The above pamphlet made its appearance in the U.S.A. and was widely circulated. It gave con-

siderable offence to Sinn Feiners, for it is not the Sinn Fein oath. On the other hand, it contains internal indications that it is the oath administered by some one of the little societies which, descending from the old Defenders through the Ribbon Men, are now mostly embodied in the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

These purely sectarian societies are by no means all controlled by the orthodox A.O.H., and some still maintain very old traditions. The main body of this engaging form of oath suggests that it is almost a pre-Cromwellian survival, and it has undeniable kinship with certain early forms of oath already given.

It has been stigmatised by Sinn Feiners as a forgery ; such a thing is possible, but I do not think that it is. A phrase here and there may have been changed or amended during the passage of the centuries, for it has probably been handed down by oral tradition, but I think that it is unmistakably the oath form of an Irish Secret Society. A manuscript copy of it was also intercepted in 1920 in a bale of goods consigned from Belfast to London.

APPENDIX D

Fianna Eireann

This Boy Scout organisation existed purely as a seditious training-ground. Countess Marckievicz was the President and showed marked interest in the lads, if not in their welfare. The following gem of poesy is taken from *Latest Ballads and Leaflets of Sinn Fein*, a work which bears no publisher's imprint.

THE BRAVE BOY SCOUT.

(Air—*The Minstrel Boy.*)

The brave Boy Scout to the battle is gone,
In the ranks of death you'll find him ;
His bandolier he has girded on,
And his rifle slung behind him ;
" I go where duty calls," he cried,
" Please God no ill shall harm me ;
But though for Ireland's cause I died,
I'll join the Republican Army ! "

The Boy Scout fell, but he rose again
As bright and brave as ever ;
Nor wounds nor woe, nor Frongoch's chain
Could him from freedom sever ;
And when he comes to manhood's years,
If another war's before him,
He'll lead the van of the Volunteers,
With a free flag floating o'er him !

BOYS!

IRELAND IS CALLING YOU!

Ireland wants your help in the Ranks of

FIANNA EIREANN

The only Organisation which trains boys on Irish-Ireland lines, without distinction of creed, class or politics.

BOYS!

Join the young army of Ireland which has already given so many martyrs to the cause of Irish Independence and help to win the Crown of Freedom for your Motherland.

Give your name to any Fianna Officer and join the nearest Sluagh TO-DAY. If there is not a Sluagh in your district, start one immediately, and affiliate with Headquarters.

APPENDIX E

White Boys

" In the year 1759, and under the administration of the Duke of Bedford, an alarming spirit of insurgency appeared in the South of Ireland, which manifested itself by numerous and frequent risings of the lower class of Catholics dressed in white uniforms, whence they were denominated White Boys ; but they were encouraged and often headed by persons of their own persuasion of some consideration.

" They were armed with guns, swords and pistols, of which they plundered Protestants, and they marched through the country in military array, preceded by music of bagpipes or the sounding of horns. In their nocturnal perambulations they enlisted or pressed into their service every person of their own religion who was capable of serving them, and bound them by oaths of secrecy, fidelity and obedience to their officers. Those officers were bound by oaths of allegiance to the French King, and Prince Charles the Pretender, which appeared by the confession and information of several of the insurgents, some of whom were convicted of high treason and various other crimes.

" The pretext they made use of for rising and assembling was to redress the following grievances :

The illegal enclosure of commons, the extortion of tithe proctors and the exorbitant fees exacted by their own clergy—though it appeared they were deeply concerned in encouraging and fomenting them in the commission of outrages."

Musgrave's *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 36.

The last paragraph suggests continuance of the traditional Garduña policy at this date.

APPENDIX F

THE following curse on the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary was circulated by Sinn Feiners to Irish Protestants in Ulster who were thought to be in sympathy with Sinn Fein politicians.

HACELDAMA

(The Field of Blood)

They have sold for silver the flesh and blood of their people.

For money their hands are dipped in the blood of their people.

What of the people ?

Shall they grasp the hand of Cain ?

They are the eyes and ears of the enemy.

Let those eyes and those ears know no friendship.

Let these men (?) be outcasts in their own land.

See you that there are none who shall associate with them.

See you that those who do are treated likewise.

The blood of our martyrs shall be on them and on their children's children, and they shall curse the mothers that bring them forth.

' And the Lord set a mark upon Cain.'—*Genesis*, Chap. V.

(Copy this out four times and send it to four of your friends.)

Seditious documents of a supposedly Protestant nature are extremely rare, and all attempts to convert the North to an acceptance of Sinn Fein failed, although here and there occurred instances in the South where Protestants were Sinn Feiners in politics.

APPENDIX G

The Irish National Foresters

The *Irish National Foresters* is an organisation which must not be confused with the respectable body of similar name, which is an English Friendly Society.

The order was established in Dublin in 1877, and is, technically, a Benefit Society (No. 504, Ireland) and registered under the Friendly Societies Act. Nominally it provides for the relief of members and their wives and families in sickness, burial, insurance, relief and maintenance of widows and orphans, and general circumstances of distress.

Its organisation consists of an Executive Council, Colonial and Foreign Subsidiary Executive Councils and Subordinate Districts or Branches. An annual Convention is held, at which delegates attend and decide the business of the Society.

The chief officials of the Executive Council are the High Chief Ranger (H.C.R.), High Sub-Chief Ranger (H.S.C.R.), Treasurer to the Executive Council (E.C.T.), General Secretary (G.S.), Beadle to the Executive Council (E.C.B.), and two Trustees. Each District has a Chief Ranger, Sub-Chief Ranger and District Secretary. There are also Branch Chief Rangers and Branch S.C.R.'s and Secretaries.

The High Chief Ranger is elected annually and in turn from Ireland, England and Scotland.

All emblems, records, certificates and medals are kept at the Council Chambers. An annual directory of members is said to be issued.

Every person proposed for admission into the Society must be Irish by birth or descent. (Rule 63.)

The Society is generally held to be moderately non-political and respectable; but there is no doubt that some members who hold office in the Society use the Society as a cover for criminal societies with which they are personally connected. Many prominent members and brothers of the I.N.F. are also members of the I.R.B., and the branches in the United Kingdom are peculiarly suspect.

The Society has a system of travelling licences admirably adapted to serve the needs of the fugitive from justice. In origin it is ostensibly to serve the needs of members in search of employment. When a member goes in search of employment his branch grants him a travelling licence and a book of fifty-six cheques, each value for one day's maintenance allowance. He presents this licence to the branch at the first place he goes to. The Secretary or Gratuity Officer duly stamps it. The Brother is allowed three days in any branch area, then he has to move at least ten miles to the next. A District Gratuity Officer or Secretary may allow six days' stay.

The Irish Foresters' Hall in Dublin was raided in June, 1921, and found to contain a class of I.R.A. and Fianna practising signalling. The Irish National Foresters' Hall at Liverpool was the centre of Irish criminal activity in that City, and

some of the leading members of the organisation were implicated in serious outrage. The chief function of the branch was, however, to make arrangements for smuggling wanted criminals from Ireland to the United States, by getting them engagements as workers or paying their passages on outward-bound ships. There are also certain unsatisfactory connections with Communist and I.W.W. elements.

APPENDIX H

The *AN T'OGLAC.*

Reference will frequently be found in certain papers concerning court-martials on captured rebels to the accused being found in possession of copies of the *An T'Oglac.*

The *An T'Oglac* was a little seditious paper which had originally been openly published from 1914 to 1916 as *The Irish Volunteer.* After the rebellion it vanished in company with other suppressed ephemera, but was secretly revived and circulated as the *An T'Oglac* (*anglice,* 'the warrior'), with the sub-title, *The Official Organ of the Irish Volunteers.*

The first number appeared on August 15th, 1918, and it was secretly printed and circulated throughout the rebel forces. Owing to the illegal nature of its production the publication was irregular and the numbering of copies extremely erratic. It is doubtful if many, or any, complete files exist, as the raiding by Crown forces was not such as to encourage the keeping of journals which involved an average sentence of nine months' hard labour to their possessors. As this paper may become of interest to bibliophiles and historians of the future, certain notes which I made may be useful.

The following is the sequence of publication :—

Vol. I.	No. 1	15 August, 1918.	
,,	2	14 Sept.,	,,
,,	3	30 ,,	,,
,,	4	14 Oct.,	,,
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		No issue for 15 Jan., 1919.	
,,	10	31 Jan., 1919.	
,,	10	15 Feb.,	,, Really No. 11, but misnumbered.
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About this time the publication was again interrupted, and I have not had opportunity of collating numbers subsequently issued in 1921 and 1922.

APPENDIX I

Laws, Rules and Regulations for the Government of the I.R.B. in 1894

(*See* Chapter VIII.)

Enlistment.

1. No man to be admitted into the I.R.B. or recognised as a citizen or soldier of the I.R.B. until he has first taken the oath of allegiance to the Irish Republic. Previous to administering the oath of allegiance, the man's name must be proposed and seconded as a fit and proper person to become a member, at an ordinary meeting of the "section" or "circle," and if a majority of those present vote in favour of his admission, the oath can be administered.

2. No man known to be a member of the Ribbon, Hibernian or any other similar non-Republican or factional association, to be enlisted until he has first broken off his connection with such association.

3. No habitual drunkard, no man of bad character, dissipated habits, or dishonest occupation to be enlisted.

4. No man to be recognised a member of the I.R.B., unless enlisted by duly authorised officers of the I.R.B., said officers being the centre, B's, or C's of a circle or organisers commissioned by the divisional executive.

Members' Duties.

5. Every member of the I.R.B. in employment is required to pay a sum weekly towards the procuring of war material, and a further sum monthly to defray the expenses of the organisation ; and also to contribute to the best of his ability to all extra levies or appeals which it may be necessary from time to time to make. Any member in employment who refuses or neglects his duty in this respect to be expelled the ranks of the I.R.B.

6. Every member is bound to obey the orders, instructions and commands of his superior officers in all matters relating to the I.R.B. Any member guilty of insubordination in refusing to obey the lawful commands of his superiors or speaking disrespectfully to or of them, to be expelled the ranks of the I.R.B.

7. Every member is bound to protect the secrets and guard the safety of the I.R.B. Any member speaking of his secrets to persons outside its ranks or neglecting to report a brother member so doing, to his knowledge, to be expelled the ranks of the I.R.B.

8. It is the duty of every member to defend the I.R.B. and the honour of it or its officers, whenever assailed by disunionists or factionists. Any member slandering or maligning a brother member, or allowing the same when possible to prevent it, or listening to slander or lies about the I.R.B. or any of its members, to be expelled.

9. It is the duty of every member to assist in preserving discipline in the ranks of the I.R.B. Any member creating any disturbance at any

meeting of the I.R.B., any member attending such meeting under the influence of drink, or fighting with a member, is liable to expulsion from said meeting, and if the offence is repeated, to expulsion from the I.R.B.

10. Any member endeavouring to create distrust in the midst of brother members, to the detriment of the I.R.B., to be expelled.

Division of Circles, Election of Officers, etc.

11. Every circle to be divided into companies. A company is to consist of not less than 30 or more than 80 men, and to be under the control of an officer, who shall be entitled to a B. A circle is to consist of not less than 50 or more than 800 men, save and except in small country towns, where a section can be formed of any number over thirty men.

12. Every company is to be divided into sections. A section is to consist of not more than ten men, including its officer, who shall be entitled to a C.

13. New circles cannot be formed in any town where there are less than 400 men, save with the consent of the civil secretary for the division.

14. Every circle shall be governed by an executive of three, namely centre, secretary and treasurer. Any member is eligible for the post of secretary or treasurer if he possesses sufficient education. In circles numbering less than fifty men the executive to be elected by general meeting; in circles numbering over fifty and less than two hundred to be elected by the C's. In circles numbering over two hundred only, the B's to be

eligible for the position of centre ; in circles less than two hundred, only the C's. In circles numbering less than fifty men, any member to be eligible for the position of centre if he possesses the necessary qualifications.

15. Each B is to be elected by the men of each company, each C by the men of each section. The election of each B is to be superintended by the centre, and the election of each C is to be superintended by the B of the company to which the section belongs.

16. All elections to be by ballot and an absolute majority is necessary before an officer can be considered legally elected. In the event of there being more than two candidates and there not being a majority of the members present for anyone, the lowest candidate to be struck off and a fresh election to take place between the highest until an absolute majority be obtained for one of the remaining candidates. In the event of a tie between the two remaining candidates the chairman to have the casting vote.

Duties of Officers.

17. The duties of a centre are to receive all information and instructions for the circle, to conduct all correspondence for the circle, to settle all disputes between his B's and their men, to receive all reports from the secretary and transmit them to the district centre, to purchase and be responsible for the safe keeping of all war material for the circle, to expel or otherwise punish all offenders in the circle, to divide the circle into

companies and superintend the election of a B for each company, to issue orders for all general meetings of the members of the C's or B's of the circle, to appoint the vigilance committee for the circle, to watch over the accounts of the secretary and treasurer, and to superintend the circle generally.

18. The duties of the secretary are to receive and keep an account of all the money from the B's and to hand it over to the treasurer.

19. The duties of the treasurer are to receive from the secretary all moneys belonging to the circle, and place the same in the hands of trustees duly elected to receive it by the officers of the circle, if considered necessary, and to receive the same from the trustees whenever required by the centre for the purchase of war material.

20. The duties of the B are to receive and transmit all instructions from the centre of his company, to call all meetings of the C's or men of his company, to receive and keep an account of all moneys from his C and hand said money to the secretary of the circle, to receive once a month from his C's report of their strength in men with one penny from each man reported, and hand the same to the secretary; to divide the company into sections and superintend the elections of C's and to watch over and conduct his company generally.

21. The duties of a C are to transmit all information from his B to the men of his section, to call all meetings of his section, to collect weekly or fortnightly and hand over to his B the contributions of the men of his circle for material, and

keep an account of the same ; to collect monthly the sum of one penny from each man in his section which money he must hand over to his B.

Reports.

25. On the last Saturday of each month each C is to give to his B a report of the number in his section, with one penny for each man so reported. Each B must then transmit to the secretary a full report of his company, with one penny for each man. The treasurer must report the amount of money in the funds of the circle, and the centre shall report the amount of material in the circle. The secretary shall then draw up a full report of the strength of the circle in men, money and material and hand it to the centre, who must transmit it to a District Centre on or before the first of the ensuing month. Any man refusing or neglecting to report and pay his monthly levy of one penny to be considered temporarily out of the I.R.B. Any C neglecting to report for his section to be removed ; any B neglecting to report for his company to be removed ; any centre neglecting to report for his circle to be removed. No communication, conversation or intercourse on matters connected with the organisation to be permitted with any member, section or company or circle, put out of communication for neglecting to report, until the following month when, by payment of arrears, he or they shall be again admitted into communication. If three months elapse without he or they reporting, he or they shall be expelled the organisation finally.

War Material.

26. The war material of each circle is to be purchased by the centre, who is held responsible by the military secretary for its safety and good condition. He is empowered to make what arrangements he considers necessary for the safe keeping of the said material.

27. No member of the I.R.B. centre, B, C or D, shall be allowed to carry material belonging to the circle on his person, save and except on special occasion such as its removal to a place of greater safety, or when required to produce it for inspection, or when ordered to arm himself for a special purpose, such as the escort of material or protection of documents or officers of the organisation, or when exhibiting samples to new members or section of the I.R.B., or for practising or instruction. Any officer found guilty of having violated this rule to be reduced to the ranks.

28. The centre shall be required, when called upon by the military secretary, to produce all material belonging to the circle for inspection, and also to inspect himself all material belonging to the circle at least once a month.

29. Any centre, officer, or member, entrusted with the safe-keeping of material failing to produce it when called upon by the military secretary, secretary or centre to be expelled from the organisation and placed upon the black list afterwards.

30. The whereabouts of the material of a circle shall be known only to the executive of the circle, namely, centre, treasurer and secretary.

31. Should the members of a circle be doubtful as to the amount of material reported by their centre, they shall have power to elect an inspection committee of five, who, by giving the centre a week's notice, shall be entitled to see said material, but not to know where it is stored, which knowledge must always be confined to the executive.

Miscellaneous.

32. Should want of employment or any other circumstance, save and except danger from the enemy on account of services performed to the I.R.B., cause any member of the I.R.B. to remove from one town to another, he shall be required to write back to his centre through his B when settled, giving his address. His centre will then communicate through his district centre to the centre of the town where he has taken up his abode, who will take steps to bring him into communication with the circle of that place, always provided he be a good member of the I.R.B. ; if he, on the contrary, be in arrears with the circle he has left, he must not be recognised until he has first cleared off such arrears.

33. Any centre giving the address of any brother centre, district centre, or member of the executive to any member except such member be a messenger or in danger of arrest on account of his connexion with the I.R.B. shall be reduced to the ranks.

34. No stranger presenting himself to any centre, unless properly accredited as a messenger or member in danger of arrest, to be received or

recognised by such centre. Any centre receiving or holding communication with such non-accredited or unauthorised person to be removed from his position.

35. At all section meetings, the C shall conduct the business of the meeting, and his first duty shall be to inspect the men present, in order that no man outside his section shall take part in the proceedings. At all company meetings the B shall conduct the business and the C's shall act as inspection committee and appoint guards. At all general meetings of the C's or members, the centre shall conduct the business, and the B's shall act as inspection committee and appoint guards.

36. No member or C can leave his section or company to join another save with the consent of his B or centre, and no member of any rank can leave one circle to join another save with the consent of both circles. Any member or members leaving one circle to join another can claim none of the levy pay.

37. Any C, B or centre taking subscriptions from, giving information or instructions to, or in any other way interfering with the men of any other C, B or centre to be reprimanded for the first, and reduced for the second offence.

38. In every circle a sub-centre shall be elected from the B's, who shall act as deputy during the centre's absence, illness or temporary removal.

39. During the absence, illness or temporary removal of B or C, the centre shall have the power of appointing an officer to act as his deputy; said officer to be from the same company or section to which the C or B belongs.

40. No C, B or centre shall be allowed to voluntarily resign save with the consent of the officer of his company, circle or district.

Vigilance Committee.

41. Every centre shall appoint a vigilance committee of not less than three or more than nine members who shall be known to no member or officer of the circle save the centre. Every vigilance committee shall act under the control of a responsible officer appointed by the centre who shall be appointed by the vigilance C.

42. The duties of the members of the vigilance committee are to keep a watch upon all members of the circle, to report to the vigilance C all cases of drunkenness, violation of secrecy, etc., and to obey the orders of the centre through the vigilance C for the carrying out of any punishment or watching of any suspected traitor.

43. The members of the vigilance committee shall be unknown to each other. No member shall know any other member save the vigilance C, unless two members are required to perform any duty beyond the power of one to accomplish, in which case the vigilance C shall introduce the two members to each other.

44. The duties of the vigilance C are to see each member of his committee separately, at least once a fortnight, to receive from them any reports they may have to make, in company with the centre to privately investigate all cases reported and to choose the men for any special duty required and to keep a watch upon every individual member of the vigilance committee.

45. Any member of the vigilance committee speaking to another member of the I.R.B. on or about the secrets of the vigilance committee to be expelled the I.R.B. When such an event occurs, or when any member of the vigilance committee is removed from the vigilance committee, the said committee shall be broken and a new one formed.

46. Should the centre of a circle discover that the vigilance committee or any member thereof are known to be members of the vigilance committee, he shall disband such vigilance committee and form a new one.

47. A black list of traitors, spies, swindlers and other criminals against the I.R.B. will be placed in the hands of each centre, who shall read it to all the members of his circle. Any member known to hold intercourse or correspondence with any man whose name appears on the black list to be immediately expelled and never to be re-admitted into the I.R.B.

48. It shall be the duty of every member to forward to his own district centre all cases of swindling, treachery, etc., in his circle, with full description of the offender whenever such swindling or treachery occurs, and it shall be the duty of every centre to preserve the black list given to him for reference whenever needed.

49. Any centre or other member losing or mislaying any dangerous documents such as these rules, to be for ever expelled the ranks of the I.R.B.

APPENDIX J

Constitution of the I.R.B. in 1914
(*See* Chapter IX.)

Objects.

1. The object of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (hereinafter sometime called the "Organisation") is to establish and maintain a free and independent Republican Government in Ireland.

2. The Irish Republican Brotherhood shall do its utmost to train and equip its members as a military body for the purpose of securing the independence of Ireland by force of arms; it shall secure the co-operation of all Irish military bodies in the accomplishment of its object, and shall support every movement calculated to advance the cause of Irish National Independence—consistent with its own integrity.

Membership.

3. Every Irishman, irrespective of class or creed, whose character for patriotism, truth, valour, sobriety and obedience to superior officers can bear scrutiny, and who accepts the constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, is eligible for membership of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

4. Names of prospective candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded at a circle meeting. If accepted by a circle, the centre shall

direct a member to ascertain in an approved manner whether said prospect is willing to join the Organisation. When a prospect is approached for this purpose, only the investigator shall be present with him.

On receipt of a satisfactory report the centre shall proceed with the initiation of the candidate as early as possible.

In cities, the District Board shall arrange for a special scrutiny of prospective candidates by submitting each name for the approval of the circles in the district. Unless and until a satisfactory report is received from the District Board, no further steps shall be taken by the circle.

Inception Oaths.

5. Each candidate who qualifies for admission into the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall affirm on oath that he does not belong to any other oath-bound society, and shall, as a requisite for acceptance, take the following oath :—

" In the presence of God, I..... do solemnly swear that I will do my utmost to establish the National Independence of Ireland, that I will bear true allegiance to the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and Government of the Irish Republic ; that I will implicitly obey the Constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and all my superior Officers, and preserve inviolable the secrets of the Organisation. So help me God ! "

6. Should any man, while a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, be asked to join any other oath-bound society, he shall immediately inform his superior officer in the Irish Republican Brotherhood, who shall at once transmit the information to the Supreme Council in the appointed manner.

Each officer of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall be empowered to at any time demand that any member under his jurisdiction shall on oath affirm that he does not belong to any other oath-bound society.

No man who is a member of any other such society shall be admitted to, or allowed to retain membership of, the Irish Republican Brotherhood without the express permission of the Supreme Council.

Organisation.

7. (*a*) The unit of organisation shall be known as a "Circle," the members of which shall elect an officer, entitled a "Centre," to direct and govern same. Each circle shall also elect a "Sub-Centre," a secretary and a treasurer.

(*b*) Each circle shall be sub-divided into sections of not more than ten men in each. Each section shall be in charge of an officer, entitled a "Section Leader." He shall have an intimate knowledge of the men in his section, their names and addresses; he shall collect their subscriptions at the circle meetings and hand same to the treasurer; he shall submit a definite report regarding each man of his section absent.

(*c*) Each circle shall meet at least monthly.

8. Each county in Ireland shall, at the discretion of the Supreme Council, be divided into two or more "Districts." The centres in each district shall form a board for the purpose of directing the Organisation therein. Each district board shall elect a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary and a treasurer. The chairman shall be

entitled a " District Centre," and shall be responsible to the County Centre for the efficiency and discipline of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in his district. Each city shall be considered a district under this clause.

Where practicable, each district centre shall arrange that each circle in his district be visited at its monthly meeting by a representative from another circle under his jurisdiction, who shall report thereon.

9. (*a*) In each county the local centres of the Irish Republican Brotherhood therein shall hold a convention at an appointed place and time for the purpose of electing a " County Centre," a " County Sub-Centre," a " County Secretary " and a " County Treasurer." The county centre shall be responsible to the divisional centre for all matters pertaining to the Irish Republican Brotherhood in his county.

(*b*) A county centre may, with the permission of the divisional centre, sub-divide any circle under his jurisdiction into two or more circles.

(*c*) In the event of the removal of the county centre by the act of an enemy, disability or death, the county sub-centre shall exercise authority in the county until a new county centre shall have been elected in the manner provided for.

Supreme Council.

10. (*a*) The governing body of the Organisation shall be entitled " The Supreme Council." It shall consist of one member for each of eleven divisions enumerated in this clause (10*b*). The eleven members so elected shall co-opt four

additional members, whose names are to be known only to the members of the Supreme Council. The total membership of the council shall thus be fifteen.

Divisions.

(*b*) The Irish Republican Brotherhood shall be divided into ELEVEN Electoral "Divisions," to wit:—

1. Part of Leinster, comprising the Counties of DUBLIN, WICKLOW, KILDARE, LOUTH, MEATH, WESTMEATH and LONGFORD.
2. Remaining portion of Leinster, comprising the Counties of WEXFORD, KILKENNY, CARLOW, QUEEN'S and KING'S COUNTIES.
3. Part of Munster, comprising the Counties of CORK, WATERFORD, KERRY.
4. Remaining portion of Munster, comprising the Counties of LIMERICK, CLARE, and TIPPERARY.
5. Part of Connaught, comprising the Counties of GALWAY and MAYO.
6. Remaining portion of Connaught, comprising the Counties of SLIGO, LEITRIM and ROSCOMMON.
7. Part of Ulster, comprising the Counties of DONEGAL, DERRY, TYRONE and FERMANAGH.
8. Remaining portion of Ulster, comprising the Counties of ANTRIM, DOWN, ARMAGH, MONAGHAN and CAVAN.
9. South of England.
10. North of England.
11. Scotland.

Election of Supreme Council.

11. (*a*) The district centres and county centres in each division shall, in Convention assembled, elect by ballot a committee of FIVE of their number, who shall, under an oath of secrecy, elect

by ballot a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood as "Divisional Centre," who shall represent the division on the Supreme Council of the Organisation.

(*b*) The Convention shall, as a whole, also elect a "Divisional Secretary."

(*c*) In the event of the removal of the divisional centre by the act of an enemy, disability or death, the divisional secretary shall exercise authority in the division until a new member shall have been elected in the manner provided for.

(*d*) While Dublin County remains one district as at present, the representation of the County at the Convention of Division No. 1 shall comprise six centres elected by the Dublin District Board in addition to the County Centre. Should the County at a later date be divided into more than one district, the district centres of same shall be among the aforesaid six representatives.

Subscriptions.

12. Each member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall pay a monthly fee of sixpence, one-third of which shall be retained by the circle, one-third by the county treasurer, and one-third remitted to the Supreme Council through the divisional centre. Each member shall also contribute according to his means for the purchase of war materials, and shall pay any special levies which the Supreme Council may impose as the necessity arises.

Suspension.

13. Any member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood may be suspended by his centre, or

by a majority vote of the circle, on any of the following grounds:—(*a*) Abstention from circle meetings without valid excuse; (*b*) Failure to pay membership fees; (*c*) Failure to pay levies for purchase of arms; (*d*) Loss of arms entrusted to his care; (*e*) Speaking of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.) on any occasion other than at circle meetings, unless with the express permission of his centre or circle; (*f*) Intemperance; (*g*) Being guilty of any act derogatory to the interests of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Should any grave misdemeanour or serious breach of discipline warrant it, trial by court-martial may be ordered by a majority vote of the circle, by the centre or any other superior authority. If found guilty, said member shall be expelled from the Organisation and the expulsion reported to the Supreme Council through the proper channels. All charges against members shall be made in writing.

Transfers.

14. When the change of residence on the part of any member necessitates a transfer to another circle, said member shall so inform his centre and furnish the latter with the new address at which he is to reside. The centre shall immediately transmit this information to the county centre through the county board. The county centre shall be responsible for the completion of all transfers within his county and inform the divisional centre of transfers required to any other county or division.

The divisional centre shall notify county centres of inter-county transfers within his division, and

transfers from other divisions as they affect each county centre.

Applications for transfers from one division to another shall be reported to the Supreme Council.

All transfers shall be completed with the utmost despatch.

Reports.

15. Each district centre shall, on the last day of each month, furnish a report relating to the numerical, financial and disciplinary standing of the Organisation in his district to the county centre; he shall also transmit to the latter all monies due from his district.

Each county centre shall report and transmit in like manner to the divisional centre on or before the 7th day of the month following.

Secrecy.

16. (*a*) No member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall receive any information respecting the work of the Organisation except what is necessary for the performance of his duty. Should any member inadvertently acquire such information he shall not be at liberty to divulge or make use of it, but shall report to his superior officer.

(*b*) At all meetings of the Organisation where any officer is elected the following oath shall be taken :—

"In the presence of God, I..... do solemnly swear that I shall not disclose to any person the business of this meeting or the names of those present thereat."

Ordinary Elections.

17. (*a*) General election for all officers of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall be held every

two years. They shall hold office until their successors shall have been elected, but an officer of a circle, district, county or division may at any time be dismissed from office by a two-thirds vote of his electoral body, by the Supreme Council or executive thereof.

(*b*) A special election for any circle, district, county or division may be ordered at any time at the discretion of the Supreme Council.

(*c*) All elections in the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall be by ballot.

(*d*) The appointment, suspension and dismissal of all departmental officers, other than those mentioned in the foregoing clauses, shall be vested in the Supreme Council or executive thereof.

By-laws.

18. Each divisional centre, in conjunction with the county centres of his division, shall have power to frame by-laws in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution which may be deemed necessary for the purposes of local organisation. Such by-laws not to take effect unless and until ratified by the Supreme Council.

Religion and Social Standing.

19. (*a*) There shall be no State religion in the Irish Republic. Each citizen shall be free to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.

There shall be no privileged persons or classes in the Irish Republic. All citizens shall enjoy equal rights therein.

The Government.

20. The Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood is hereby declared in fact, as well as by right, the sole Government of the Irish Republic. Its enactments shall be the laws of the Irish Republic until Ireland secures absolute National Independence, and a permanent Republican Government is established.

The authority of the Supreme Council shall be unquestioned by members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

The Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall have power to levy taxes, raise loans, make war and peace, negotiate and ratify treaties with foreign powers, and do all other acts necessary for the protection and government of the Irish Republic.

A Declaration of War shall be supported by at least TEN members of the Supreme Council, and a decision so arrived at shall be binding on all members of the Council.

Executive.

21. (*a*) There shall be an " Executive " of the Supreme Council composed of the President, Secretary and Treasurer of that body whose election shall, if possible, take place at the first meeting of a new Supreme Council to which all members shall have been summoned.

(*b*) This Executive shall be vested with all powers and prerogatives of the Supreme Council when the Supreme Council is not in Session, except those of declaring war and altering the Constitution.

A majority vote of the Executive shall be binding on all three of its members.

The President.

22. The President of the Irish Republican Brotherhood is, in fact as well as by right, President of the Irish Republic. He shall direct the working of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, subject to the control of the Supreme Council or Executive thereof.

Vacancies.

23. In the event of vacancies occurring in the Supreme Council or Executive thereof, the remaining member or members shall exercise the authority of the Supreme Council until such time as new members shall have been elected or co-opted in accordance with Clauses 11 and 12 of this Constitution. Vacancies shall, in all cases, be filled with the utmost despatch.

Meetings.

24. (*a*) The Supreme Council shall meet at least once every three months. Special meetings shall be called by the Executive or at the written request of one member of the Executive and two other members of the Supreme Council.

(*b*) Nine members of the Supreme Council shall constitute a quorum.

(*c*) Members of the Supreme Council who absent themselves from two consecutive meetings of the Council without excuse which shall be considered valid by two-thirds of the members present on the occasion of his second abstention shall be dismissed from office.

(*d*) Notice of meetings at which a declaration of war or amendments to the Constitution are to

be considered, shall be given by personal service to each member of the Supreme Council and a receipt obtained for such notification.

Resignations, Dismissals, etc.

25. (*a*) Any member of the Supreme Council wishing to resign shall give one month's notice to a member of the Executive, and also (if an elected member) to the Secretary of his Division.

(*b*) Any member of the Supreme Council may be dismissed from office by a two-thirds vote of his electoral body, or of the Supreme Council.

26. At each meeting of the Supreme Council the elected members thereof shall furnish a report relating to the numerical, financial and disciplinary standing of the Organisation in their respective divisions, and shall pay to the Treasurer of the Council all monies due.

The Treasurer of the Supreme Council shall furnish vouchers for all disbursements and submit a statement showing the financial standing of the whole Organisation.

27. The members of the Supreme Council shall give their services to the Organisation voluntarily. No member of the Council shall be entitled to remuneration as such.

28. The Supreme Council shall have power to appoint a secret court for the trial of any member or members charged with the commission of seraton or grave misdemeanours.

Punishment.

29. Any member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood who unlawfully appropriates money entrusted to him for National purposes shall be

expelled from the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The Supreme Council shall circulate the name or names of such offenders throughout the Organisation, and to representative Irishmen living in foreign countries as may be deemed advisable.

30. The Supreme Council alone shall have power to inflict a sentence of Capital Punishment and give it effect; and this only in cases of treason. The crime of treason is hereby defined as any wilful act or word on the part of any member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood calculated to betray the cause of Irish Independence, or subserve the interests of the British or any other foreign government to the detriment of Irish independence.

Military Council.

31. There shall be a "Military Council" of the Irish Republican Brotherhood which shall be attached to, and at all times be subject to, the Supreme Council, and shall have no power to direct or interfere with the policy of the Government of the Irish Republic nor in any way to alter the Constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Amendment.

32. The Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall have power to amend the foregoing Constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, subject to the following restrictions:—

Each member of the Council shall receive a month's notice of any amendment prior to the date of meeting at which such amendment is proposed to be effected.

Not less than a two-thirds vote of the Council shall be required to make any proposed change effective.

Clauses 1, 2, 3, 5, 21, 23, 24, 33, 35, 36, shall not be amended except with the consent and approval of a majority of the County Centres in Ireland of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Amendments to this Constitution or recommendations affecting the government and policy of the Irish Republican Government, emanating from any circle, shall be submitted to the District Board. If accepted by the latter they shall be transmitted to the county centre. This officer shall then transmit same, with his opinion noted thereon, to the divisional centre, who shall in due course submit said amendments or recommendations for the consideration of the Supreme Council.

This Constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall be read at the meetings of each circle at least twice a year.

GENERAL ORDER OF BUSINESS AT CIRCLE MEETINGS.

1. Post guard at door.
2. Centre opens meeting in the name of the Irish Republic, members standing to attention.
3. Roll-call by Secretary, and reports on absentees.
4. Introduction of new members.
5. Reports on candidates for membership proposed at previous meeting of Circle.
6. Nominations of prospective candidates.
7. Orders from District Board.
8. Collection of Subscriptions.
9. Announcement of next meeting date.
10. Other business.
11. Military training through lectures, discussions, etc., as arranged by District Board.
12. Centre declares meeting closed—members standing to attention.

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APPENDIX K

The Ritual of the Clan-Na-Gael

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR OFFICERS

THE efficiency of a Camp and the utility of the ceremonies of initiation depend largely on the impressiveness with which the officers render their separate parts of the workings. Officers should therefore commit to memory their share of the Ritual and study to deliver it effectively. Members holding the offices of S.G., J.G., and P.G. should be good readers and be able to impress candidates with the fact that they understand what they are teaching and feel the importance of the sentiments they convey.

Wherever possible, Camps or Districts should select an initiation team composed of members specially trained in the work, and where this is done it would be well to set apart special meetings for the purpose of initiating a large number of candidates. Candidates are always impressed by large meetings, and, in order to make the attendance good at such meetings, other special attractions should be provided.

Camps may elaborate the ceremony of initiation and the opening and closing of the Camp with appropriate vocal and instrumental music, where there is available musical talent, but the music should in all such cases be Irish, and of the best quality. The ceremony of initiation

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should be made a source of continual instruction and interest. The object of the ceremony is as much to impress the old members, refreshing their minds with their obligations and the principles of the Order, as it is to instruct the candidates, who may fail, owing to nervousness or temporary confusion, to fully comprehend all that is conveyed to them. In observing and taking part in subsequent initiations they will gradually acquire that perfect knowledge of the workings of the Organization which every member should have.

The Warden is the assistant of the S.G., enforcing order and discipline in the Camp.

All members entering or leaving a Camp while in session will salute the S.G., or in case the S.G. should be occupied, the J.G. It is the

duty of the Warden to see that no infraction of this rule be permitted, but in reproving, or admonishing, brothers who err in this respect care should be taken that no offensive language be used or the meeting disturbed by loud or unnecessary talk.

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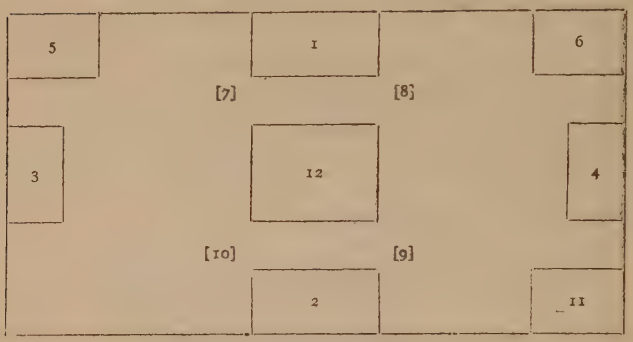
DIAGRAM

SHOWING POSITION OF OFFICERS.



KEY TO FOREGOING DIAGRAM.

1. S.G.—Green and Yellow Badge, White Pendants.
2. J.G.—Green and White Badge, Yellow Pendants.
3. P.G.—Blue Badge, Yellow, Green and White Pendants.
4. Treasurer—Green Badge, Yellow and White Pendants.
5. Rec. Sec.— ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
6. Fin. Sec.— ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
7. Warden— ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
8. Conductor— ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
9. Teller— ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
10. Teller— ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
11. Sentinel— ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
12. Centre Table—Draped with Green, White and Orange Flag.

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ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Warden's Examination.
2. Opening.
3. Reading Minutes of Previous Meeting.
4. Roll Call of Officers.
5. Reception of Committee Reports on Candidates.
6. Balloting.
7. Initiation.
8. Propositions for Membership.
9. Reports of Committees and Officers.
10. Reading National and District Orders and Communciations.
11. Collection of Dues always in order.
12. Unfinished Business.
13. New Business.
14. Good of the Order.
15. Receipts of the Meeting.
16. Roll Call.
17. Closing.

(Page 7) **OPENING**

S.G. (One rap)—" Warden, Examine those present."

(The Warden gives the S.G. the Pass, then takes it from the Recording Secretary and proceeds to the right of the S.G. on his circuit of examination. As the Warden approaches a member, the member will rise, extend his right hand to the Warden and whisper the Pass in the Warden's ear. Those found without the Pass will be requested to retire to the anteroom. When the Camp has been examined and all inside found correct the Warden will proceed to the centre table, and report.)

Warden—" S.G., All present are members of the V.C."

S.G. (Two raps)—" This Camp of the V.C. will come to order. J.G., What are the duties of your position ? "

J.G.—" To assist you in the duties of your office, take charge of the Camp in your absence, and carefully observe that no unworthy person is admitted to our meetings and that those entering or retiring shall do so in a proper manner."

S.G.—" Sentinel, What are your duties ? "

Sentinel—" To carefully guard the approaches to this Camp, to allow none but properly qualified members of the Order to enter, and to warn this Camp against any intrusion."

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S.G.—" Officers and brothers, We meet to perform a sacred duty. The cause of Ireland has been entrusted to our keeping, and we are here to protect and advance its interests. To rid Ireland of English rule, establish an Irish Republic and to elevate our race to its proper position is a task within our power if we are true to ourselves and to the glorious example set for us. By force alone can we win, as by force alone, under God's providence, our race has been preserved. As soldiers of freedom we know that order, discipline and obedience to lawful authority must guide our efforts and govern our conduct. May God direct our work and may the spirit of Tone, Emmet, Pearse and all the Irish martyrs animate us, so that this Camp may be made a tower of strength to our cause and a credit to our race."

All raise their right hands and respond—" We solemnly renew our pledges."

(One rap)

(Page 9) **BALLOTING FOR CANDIDATES**

Under this head the S.G. will call on the Recording Secretary to report the names of all candidates who are to be balloted for at the meeting, giving the date of proposition in each case, so as to make sure that the necessary time has elapsed since the proposition, and to state whether the investigating committee has reported favorably or otherwise. No ballot is to be taken unless the investigating committee has reported, and if the committee or any of its members has failed to report, the places of the delinquents will be filled by the S.G. Each candidate will be balloted for separately. When the Secretary has read the list of candidates the S.G. will order the tellers to take their places, one sitting at each side of the ballot box and facing the S.G. Then the S.G. will say in the case of each candidate :

S.G.—" The name of.....is before you for election or rejection. The committee having reported favourably, the ballot is now open. Those in favour of his election will cast a white ball ; those opposed a black ball. The brothers will now vote."

Each member will announce his number before voting. When the balloting appears to be over the S.G. will say :

S.G.—" Have all voted who wish ? If so, I declare the ballot closed. Tellers, take the ballot box to the J.G. for examination."

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One of the tellers takes the ballot box to the J.G., who, after examining it, will report that he finds no adverse votes, or that he finds one, two, or three black balls, as the case may be. One of the tellers will then carry the ballot box to the S.G., who, after examining it, will say, if no black balls have been cast :

S.G.—" No black balls having been cast, I declare..... duly elected a member of this Camp and Brotherhood. The brother who proposed him will see that he is presented for initiation."

If three black balls have been cast, the S.G. will announce:

S.G.—" Three black balls having been cast, I declare .....rejected for membership in this Camp and Brotherhood. No rejected candidate can be proposed again within six months after his rejection. If he should be proposed in any other Camp the Constitution provides that no ballot shall be taken until that Camp has been notified of his rejection in this Camp. Brothers will be careful not to mention the fact of this rejection to the man himself, or to anyone not a member of the V.C."

If one or two black balls are cast against a candidate, the S.G. will announce the number of black balls cast and say:

S.G.—" The Constitution orders that in this case the member (or members) casting the black

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ball shall privately state to the S.G. the cause of objection to the candidate and that the S.G. shall state those objections at the next meeting without disclosing the name of the objector. At the next meeting of this Camp another ballot will be taken, after my statement of the objections to the candidate, and if less than three black balls are cast the candidate will be declared elected."

When the balloting is finished the S.G. will say:

S.G.—" There being no other candidate to be balloted for, the tellers will resume their ordinary places."

(Page 12) **INITIATION**

Perfect silence should prevail during initiation. Nothing else should occupy the attention of the meeting.

The Warden will see that the Camp is not disturbed during the ceremony, and that every Member shall avoid any needless movement or word. At such a time a whisper may disturb a candidate or an officer, and mar the impressiveness of the ceremony. Each member should endeavour to make the ceremony what it is designed to be—solemn and impressive.

S.G.—" Conductor, proceed to the anteroom and ascertain if there are any candidates in waiting."

When the Conductor reports the names, addresses, etc., of the candidates, the S.G. asks:

S.G.—" Recording Secretary, have these candidates been duly elected ? "

The Recording Secretary reports, giving date of election in each case.

S.G.—" Conductor, proceed to the anteroom and interrogate the candidates."

The Conductor then retires and asks the candidates the following questions in their proper order:

Conductor—" State your name, age, birthplace and occupation."

Conductor—" Do you believe in Ireland's right to be a separate and independent nation ? "

Conductor—" As Ireland's independence can only be achieved by physical force, are you will-

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ing to work for the winning of Ireland's independence by that means ? "

Conductor—" Understanding, as you do, that the object of this Organization is the freedom of Ireland and the elevation of the Irish race, are you willing to bind yourself by a solemn obligation to aid in carrying out that object and to obey the laws of this Order ? "

Conductor—" Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of an organization, having for its object the freedom of Ireland ? "

The Conductor, having ascertained that the candidate has answered all questions satisfactorily to the Camp, will return to the anteroom and collect the initiation fee. If any candidate admits being now, or having ever been, a member of this, or any similar organization, or if any of the answers should be unsatisfactory, or should call for special action, the Camp will act as may be required by the Constitution. If the answers are satisfactory, the S.G. will say:

S.G.—" Conductor, prepare the candidates and present them for initiation."

The S.G. will detail a sufficient number of brothers to act as escort to the candidates. The Conductor will then take his sword, retire to the anteroom and blindfold the candidates. This must not be done with a pocket handkerchief, but with a blind specially made for the purpose and always kept clean and in good condition. The Conductor will then give three knocks at the door as a signal for his assistants to retire, one assistant conductor being selected for each candidate, who shall take a

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position on the right of the candidate. The Conductor will direct the march and place himself at the head of the escort. At the entrance door he will give three distinct knocks with his sword. The Sentinel will at once open the door and the escort will pass inside with the candidates, after which the Sentinel will close the door. When the escort has advanced three paces into the room the Sentinel will abruptly and in a clear voice say to the Conductor:

Sentinel—" Halt ! Who comes there ? "

(Escort halts

Conductor—" Friends who desire to unite with us in the cause of Ireland."

Sentinel (to S.G.)—" Shall I permit these friends to proceed ? "

S.G.—" Advance."

Conductor—" Forward, march."

The Conductor will lead the escort and candidates to within three paces of the P.G., making a circuit of the centre table, and will command:

Conductor—" Halt."

The candidates will be aligned by the assistants facing the P.G.

Conductor (to P.G.)—" Sir, I present these candidates for final examination."

P.G.—" Friends, You have come to us, seeking the privilege of membership. That privilege is denied to unworthy men and granted only to those who can stand the test of a strict examination as to character and patriotism. We are engaged in a holy cause that can be served only by

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men of courage, devotion and loyalty. We are banded together to free the land of our fathers from English rule and to make it an independent Republic. We admit no man to our ranks who is not fully in sympathy with this object. Every man in our Order has taken a solemn oath, binding himself to aid in accomplishing it. It is an oath which does not conflict with any duty you owe to God, to your country, your neighbour or yourself, and which no true Irishman can condemn. It must be taken before you can be admitted to our Order. You have already signified your willingness to take our obligation, but we give you, even now, the privilege of withdrawing if you so desire. Answer honestly and freely, are you willing to take this oath ? "

If the answer be satisfactory, the P.G. will say:

P.G.—" Conduct the candidates to the proper officer for obligation."

The Conductor and his assistants will then march the candidates to the J.G. and align them facing the J.G.'s chair.

Conductor—" Hold up your right hands."

(S.G. gives two raps)

The J.G. then administers the obligation, speaking clearly and distinctly, dividing the sentences into short clauses, so that the candidates may have no difficulty in repeating the words after him. He will not tell the candidates to kiss the book, the Ritual not being for that purpose and the uplifted right hand being sufficient.

(Page 16) **OBLIGATION**

I (name), do solemnly swear that I will labor while life is left to me to put an end to English rule in Ireland and to establish an Independent Republic on Irish soil and to elevate the position of the Irish Race everywhere.

That I will obey and respect the Constitution and Laws of the V.C. and all orders coming from the proper authority.

That I will never reveal its Secrets to anyone not entitled to know them, even if my connection with the Organization should cease from any cause whatever.

That I will foster a spirit of Unity and Brotherly Love among Irish Nationalists.

That I do not now belong, and never will belong, to any organization opposed to the principles or policy of the V.C.

And finally I swear that I take this oath without any mental reservation whatever and that I will keep it in letter and spirit until death. So help me God.'

The Conductor then removes the blindfold from the eyes of the candidates.

All present—" We are all witnesses to the obligation you have taken."

Conductor—" Keep it as you love Ireland and value your honour as a man."

J.G.—" Conduct the brothers to the S.G."

(One rap)

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On arriving at the S.G.'s chair the Conductor will align the new brothers and say:

Conductor—" S.G., I present these brothers for final instructions."

S.G. (shaking hands with each of the new brothers)—" Brothers, I greet you and welcome you to our ranks in the name of Ireland."

The name of this Organization is the V.C. Its local sub-divisions, or branches, are styled Camps, and each Camp is known by a number. This is Camp No....., and its public name is ..... Each member of a Camp is also assigned a number and is known by that number at our meetings.

The sword used in your initiation is the symbol of the policy of our Organization. Ireland was deprived of her liberty by force and fraud: English rule is maintained by force alone and can only be overthrown by force. Force is the cardinal principle of our Organization and an Irish Republic is the end toward which all our efforts are directed. We will be satisfied with no half measure.

The mission of this Organization is to combine and concentrate the efforts of the Irish race in America for the support of the struggle for Independence in the old land. We are bound by the closest ties of friendship and community of purpose with a similar organization in Ireland. The two work in complete harmony and are

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practically one organization. We have no connection or affiliation with any other organization or movement and we permit no sectional or class interests to interfere with, or obstruct, our work. Irish Independence is supreme.

The colours of our Organization—green, white and orange—are the emblems of its principles, and express our desire for the union of the Irish race and the honour and glory of the motherland. We want a free Ireland in which there shall be perfect civil and religious liberty and in which all Irishmen shall have equal rights. No man is debarred from membership because of religious belief and no discussion on religious subjects is allowed at our meetings.

We cultivate the strongest ties of personal friendship among our members. We are all soldiers of Ireland's army, and every soldier must stand by his comrade in difficulty and danger. This Organization exacts a high standard of personal and public conduct from its members and expects them to promote its interests wherever and whenever the opportunity offers.

You will preserve the strictest secrecy in regard to it, and you will never mention the name of the V.C. or anything connected with its inner workings to anyone whom you do not know to be a member in good standing. Before

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proposing any man for membership you will first assure yourself that his sentiments and opinions are in accord with the principles and policy of the Organization. Then propose him at a meeting of the Camp, without informing him of the fact. If he should be elected, you will then approach him cautiously on the subject, using only the public name of the Organization, and if you find him anxious to join, you can inform him that you can secure his admission. Having obtained his consent, you will then make arrangements for his initiation.

(If the S.G. deems it necessary, he may at this point include in his address the matter printed in small type on pages 20 and 21.)

The Pass is never to be spoken above breath nor given by you to anyone but the Sentinel at the door and the Warden at the opening of the Camp. No officer or member has authority to give the Pass under any circumstances, except the S.G. or the Warden when ordered to do so by the S.G. Should any member forget it he must obtain it by applying to the S.G. If a member without the Pass applies at the door for admission the S.G. will ascertain his standing from the F.S. If in good standing, the S.G. will send the Warden to the anteroom to instruct him; if in bad standing, he will only be given the Pass on payment of his indebtedness or on such terms as the Camp may decide.

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By regular attendance at meetings you will become familiar with these regulations and I shall be happy at all times to give you any further information that may enable you to better understand the workings of our Organization. Finally, brothers, let me admonish you that the privilege of membership which has been granted you to-night, imposes on you serious obligations. We expect you to show your appreciation by active participation in our work, zeal in the discharge of the duties that devolve upon you, and personal conduct that will prove you to be worthy of the trust we repose in you."

(Two raps)

" Brothers,, It affords me great pleasure to introduce to you our new members."

Before the close of the meeting the S.G. will secretly instruct the new members practically in the mode of entering a Camp and in the hailing signs and test words.

.....

If the S.G. deem it necessary, he will include the following in his address to newly-elected members introducing it at the place indicated on page 19.

" When entering a Camp, if in session, you are met by the Outside Sentinel, who takes the Outside Pass inside of the door of the anteroom, after which you pass to the inner door. You give two distinct knocks on the inner door, which are answered by the Inside Sentinel with two similar knocks. The Sentinel then opens the slide and asks, 'Who comes there?' You answer in a low voice by giving your

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number and the number of the Camp to which you belong. The Sentinel closes the slide and reports your answer to the J.G. who directs him to admit you if correct, which means if you have the Pass-word. When the Sentinel opens the slide again you give him the Pass and he admits you. You then proceed to the centre of the room, stand in front of the centre table, facing the S.G., raise your right hand and in a clear voice announce your number and the number of your Camp, and when he signifies by raising his right hand that he has taken

notice, take your seat. Should the S.G. be occupied, face the J.G. and announce your number and camp in a similar manner. The object of this is to bring the attention of all present upon you and to guard against the possibility of any person not properly qualified securing admission.

All voting for candidates and officers is done by ballot. Three black balls reject any candidate for membership. In proceeding to cast your ballot, you stand in front of the ballot box, facing the S.G., raise your right hand and announce your number. You must exercise your privilege of voting fearlessly and impartially, neither permitting yourself to be influenced by motives of friendship nor personal prejudice in reference to any candidates. Other voting is done by raising the right hand, on motion being put by the S.G. from the chair.

When one stroke of the gavel is given by the S.G. all present maintain perfect silence and pay strict attention to whatever is transpiring. At two raps of the gavel every brother at once rises, and remains standing until one rap is given as a signal to sit down. Should you offer a motion or take part in a debate, you will preface your remarks by holding up your right hand, addressing the S.G., and announcing your number."

(Page 22) INSTALLATION OF CAMP OFFICERS

The installation of Camp Officers should be made an imposing ceremony. If the District Officer is present, he will obligate and install the officers elect of a Camp within his jurisdiction. If there are Deputy District Officers in a District, a Deputy may perform the duty within the section of the District assigned to his charge. If neither the D.O. nor a Deputy be present at the meeting fixed for the installation, the duty will be performed by the S.G., except in case of re-election of the S.G., in which case the S.G. will appoint another brother to perform the duty.

The installing officer will instruct the Warden and Conductor to escort the newly-elected officers to the centre table, where they will be aligned and will salute the installing officer in military fashion by raising their right hands to the right temple. The escort will then march them to and align them in front of the installing officer's chair. The installing officer will order the S.G. and J.G. elect to take one pace in advance of the line, where they will remain until their part of the ceremony has been concluded. The installing officer will then read that part of the Constitution which covers the duties of Camp officers (Article VII, from Section 1 to Section

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15 inclusive), after which he will address the S.G. and J.G. elect as follows:

"BROTHERS, A great trust has been confided to you, and a heavy responsibility placed upon you. You are the guardians of this Camp in every sense of the word and will be held responsible for the safe keeping of its interests. You, S.G., preserve order at the meetings, supervise the work of your subordinates, and treat all members with courtesy, respect and impartiality. You are expected to preserve the dignity of your office on all occasions, to curb and restrain with quiet firmness and decision. You are the medium of communication between this Camp and the D.A., and the custodian of important information that you must guard as you would your own life. You are the lieutenant of the D.A., subject to its orders and bound to uphold its legitimate authority and to enforce the spirit and letter of the Constitution. And in all these duties and responsibilities, you, J.G., are the assistant and supporter of the S.G., sharing his knowledge, and taking his place when he is obliged to be absent. Finally, you are both the representatives of this Camp at all meetings of the Board of Officers of the District which elects the D.O. and aids and advises him in the administration of the District. Are you each willing to accept the responsibility and discharge the duties of the

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office to which you have been elected? Answer 'yes' or 'no.'"

On receiving answers in the affirmative, the installing officer will administer the following obligation to the S.G. and J.G. elect:

(Two raps)

"I (names), do solemnly swear to discharge the duties of S.G. and J.G. in this Camp to the utmost of my ability; that I will faithfully fulfil and enforce the spirit and letter of the Constitution and laws of the V.C., with all the power and authority vested in me, without fear or favor; that I will obey, respect and uphold the authority, orders and instructions of the Executive and cause the members of this Camp, to the utmost of my ability, to do likewise: So help me God."

(One rap)

The S.G. and J.G. will then take two paces to the rear and the other officers elect will step forward and stand in line in front of the installing officer, who will address them as follows:

"BROTHERS, You have been elected to offices which are only second in importance to those of the S.G. and J.G. The records, property and funds of this Camp are placed in your keeping so that they may be always at its service and under its control. You are the assistants of the S.G. and the J.G. in maintaining order, dis-

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cipline and respect for the Constitution in the Camp. Give them your earnest co-operation and never lose sight of the responsibility which rests upon you. Are you willing to accept that responsibility? Answer 'yes' or 'no.'"

On receiving answers in the affirmative the installing officer will administer the following obligation:

(Two raps)

"I (names), do solemnly swear to discharge the duties of my office to the utmost of my ability; that I will faithfully protect all records, property and funds of the V.C. entrusted to my care, and that I will properly transfer to my successor, or those legally authorized, everything belonging to the V.C., in my custody: So help me God."

(One rap)

After administration of oath the installing officer will direct the Conductor and as many assistants as may be required to conduct the new officers to their respective places.

The installing officer will then order the Warden and Conductor to put on the badges of the new officers and will himself hand the gavel to the new S.G., saying:

"Senior Guardian, I hand you the gavel which is the symbol of your authority as the chief officer of this Camp and which you will use only

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to enforce the principles of the V.C., the good order which should prevail at all its meetings and the rights and privileges of its members. I know that you will exercise your authority with justice and moderation as between the members and with firmness and resolution where the interests of the Irish cause are at stake."

At the first meeting at which the new S.G. presides he will order the immediate transfer of the records, funds and property of the Camp to the new officers, in such cases where there is a change of men.

(Page 27) INSTALLATION OF D.O.

The D.O. will convene the meeting of the newly elected S.G.'s and J.G.'s for the election of his successor and will call on the oldest S.G. or J.G. present, in point of service, to preside. The presiding officer shall be entitled to a ballot, the same as any other S.G. or J.G., but

will not have a casting vote in case of a tie. A ballot, being a secret vote, cannot be decided by an open vote. As the Constitution (Article VI, Sections 1 and 5) provides that the D.O. shall be elected by the S.G.'s and J.G.'s of the District, no delegates from Camps can take part in the meeting to elect the D.O. The same meeting will also elect a District Secretary and District Treasurer. After the result of the ballot has been declared, the presiding officer will call the D.O. elect, if he be present at the meeting, and the Secretary and Treasurer elect, if they be present, to stand in front of the Chair, the D.O. elect standing one pace in advance of the other two. If the presiding officer should be elected D.O., he will call the next oldest S.G. or J.G. to preside. The presiding officer will address the D.O. elect as follows:—

"BROTHER, You have been elected by the votes of the S.G.'s and J.G.'s of District.....to the high and responsible position of D.O. On

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your energy, vigilance and loyalty the efficiency of this District largely depends. Our Constitution provides that the D.O. shall have the counsel and support of the Board of Officers, and you are bound to call for that counsel and support whenever the occasion demands. Be just and impartial in your decisions, firm but moderate in the assertion of your constitutional authority, and let your action at all times be guided by a desire for the welfare of the V.C. and the advancement of the Irish Cause. Do you accept the trust confided to you on these conditions? Answer 'yes' or 'no.'"

On receiving an affirmative answer, the presiding officer will then administer the following obligation:

(Two raps)

"I (name), do solemnly swear that I will discharge the duties of D.O. to the best of my ability; that I will faithfully fulfil and enforce the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the V.C. in District..... with all the power and authority vested in me; that I will obey, respect and uphold the authority, orders and instructions of the D.A.; that I will decide all appeals and disputes with impartiality and in a spirit of strict justice, to the best of my judgment, and that I will endeavor to conduct the business of the District for the best interests of the V.C. and the

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advancement of the Irish cause: So help me God."

(One rap)

The D.O. will then take two paces to the rear and the Treasurer and Secretary elect will step forward and stand in front of the presiding officer's chair. The installing officer will address them as follows:

"BROTHERS, You have been elected to very important offices by the votes of the officers of District.....and a great deal will depend on your efficiency and faithfulness in the discharge of your duties. The District Officer must rely on you to aid him in the administration of the District, proper keeping of its records and the custody of its special funds. Are you willing to assume the responsibility and perform the duties of the offices to which you have been elected? Answer 'yes' or 'no.'"

On receiving answers in the affirmative, the installing officer will administer the following obligation:

(Two raps)

"I (name), do solemnly swear that I will discharge the duties of my office to the best of my power and ability, that I will faithfully protect and preserve all records, property and funds of this District entrusted to my care and turn the same over to my successor at the proper time, that I will loyally assist the D.O. in the admin-

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istration of the District, and the D.A. in the government of the V.C. and be ever watchful of the interests of the Irish cause: So help me God."

(One rap)

The presiding officer will then appoint a committee of two to escort, first the D.O. and then the Secretary and Treasurer to their places, and the meeting will proceed to the next order of business.

In case the D.O. elect, or the Secretary and Treasurer elect should not be present at the meeting which elects them, arrangements will be made at that meeting to have them installed at the earliest possible moment at the meeting of the nearest Camp, in each case by the S.G. of that Camp, or, if convenient, by a Deputy D.O., or an officer specially selected for the purpose.

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PROCEDURE AT OFFICERS' MEETINGS.

The procedure at meetings of Boards of Officers will be similar to that at Camp meetings. The D.O. will appoint a deputy, or S.G. or J.G. to take the place of the J.G. in charge of the door, as at a Camp meeting, and will also appoint a Sentinel and Warden. The Password will be taken up before the meeting is opened. The D.O. will open the proceedings as follows:

(Two raps)

"BROTHER OFFICERS OF DISTRICT....., We meet as the representatives of the Camps of this District in accordance with the powers vested in us by the Constitution, to take counsel together for the good and welfare of the V.C. within the limits assigned us and to transact any ordinary or special business that may demand our attention. The trust reposed in us by our Camps imposes on us the duty of conducting our proceedings with good order, dignity and a becoming respect for the rights that each is entitled to. Freedom of discussion on all questions that properly come within our jurisdiction will ensure wise decisions, and strict adherence on our part to the laws and the constituted authority of the Organization will command respect for our action. May our counsels be guided by wisdom and the Irish cause be benefited by our labors."

(One rap)

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All officers should remain to the close of the meeting of the Board, except when called away by urgent necessity. When the business is finished, the D.O. will close as follows:

(Two raps)

"BROTHER OFFICERS, The business which called us together has been transacted, with benefit, we hope, to the Irish cause and with credit to ourselves. Let us go back to our various Camps to continue the work of preparing our race for the great future in store for it and to give to our fellow-members an example of zeal for the Irish cause and respect for the principles and the laws of the V.C. This Board of Officers stands adjourned to meet again..... or on a special call from the D.O., if sooner required."

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RECEPTION OF A TRANSFERRED MEMBER.

When a transfer has been presented to the S.G. and he is satisfied that the brother presenting the same is entitled to be received as a member of the Camp to which the brother seeks admission, he will have the member retire to the anteroom, where the Conductor will follow, ascertaining the name of the member, the location and number of his Camp, which he reports to the S.G. If everything is satisfactory, the S.G. instructs the Conductor to

retire and present the member, which he does by marching linked with the member, and introducing him to the S.G. as follows:

Conductor—"Mr. S.G., I have the pleasure of introducing to you a brother who has been faithful to his obligation and true to the cause in seeking affiliation with us."

The S.G. will welcome the member and say:

S.G.—"With pleasure we welcome you among us, and trust that your experience in the Organization may increase your usefulness as a fellow member. You will give your name and address to the Financial Secretary, and be assigned your number upon our roll of membership. You are now received as a member of Camp....., and we expect your attendance and assistance hereafter."

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OBLIGATION FOR RETIRING OR RESIGNED MEMBER.

"I (name), do hereby promise and swear, in the presence of God and the members assembled, that I will during my entire life keep strictly secret the name, workings and purpose of the V.C., and all things which I know or have learned in relation to the same, and that I will never be a party to the injury of the Organization or any of its members."

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OBLIGATION OF DELEGATE AND ALTERNATE.

On the election of Delegate and Alternate to the General Convention they will be escorted by the Conductor and Warden to the S.G., who will address them as follows:

"BROTHERS, You have been selected by this Camp to discharge a duty that should be entrusted to none but the most worthy and reliable members—you, Brother....., to represent this Camp in the Convention of the V.C., and you, Brother....., to take the place of the Delegate in case he should be prevented by circumstances at present unforeseen from attending it.

As the work of the Convention affects the dearest interests of our race, any revelation of its proceedings would be an injury to the Irish Cause and a service to the enemy. We, therefore, surround it with the strictest secrecy. No one except the D.A. and the Delegates is allowed to know the time and place of its meeting. That knowledge is only imparted to the Alternate by the Delegate in the event of the Delegate finding it impossible, from circumstances not now known to him, to attend the Convention. The duties and responsibilities that devolve upon you are

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of the highest and most sacred character and should not be lightly undertaken. With this explanation and with your knowledge of the circumstances that surround you, are you willing to assume these responsibilities and discharge these duties faithfully and to the best of your ability, with no object or motive but the good of this Organization and the advancement of the Irish cause? Answer 'yes' or 'no.'"

The S.G. will then administer the following obligation to both the Delegate and Alternate.

(Two raps)

"I (names), do solemnly swear that I will perform the duties of Delegate to the Convention of the V.C. to the best of my ability; that my action during its sessions will be guided solely by a desire to promote the welfare of this Organization and the interests of the

cause of Ireland; that my personal conduct will be marked by sobriety and decorum; that I will keep strictly secret the time and place of the Convention and everything that takes place therein until its sessions are ended, and that at all times thereafter I will only make its proceedings known to such as are properly qualified to receive the knowledge: So help me God."

(One rap)

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OBLIGATION FOR MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE.

The following obligation will be administered to the newly elected members of the D.A. at the Convention. In case any member should not be present, the D.A. will instruct the District Officer of the District in which the member lives, or if more convenient, the nearest Delegate who has attended the Convention, to obligate him, and the person who performs the ceremony will notify the Secretary of the D.A. in writing of the fact that the member in question has taken the obligation. The obligation must in all cases be taken before the members of the new D.A. attend a meeting of that body:

"I (name), do solemnly swear that I accept the position of member of the Executive of the V.C. with a full sense of the responsibility I assume thereby and for the sole purpose of promoting the work of making Ireland an absolutely independent Republic; that I will work unceasingly to prepare the people of Ireland to win that independence by armed Revolution; that I will preserve and protect, to the best of my power and ability, all records, property and funds entrusted to my care, or subject to my vote, for the proper purposes of the V.C. and the wel-

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fare of the Irish cause; that I will abide by the decision of the majority of the Executive in all matters pertaining to the V.C., or affecting the interests of the Irish cause; that I will keep strictly and inviolably secret, both during my term of office and after it shall have expired, the proceedings and work of the Executive, unless instructed, or permitted, by the Executive, or the Convention, to make them known to properly authorized persons, and that I will always be a true and loyal member of the V.C., standing firmly by its principles and policy and earnestly supporting its Executive: So help me God."

OBLIGATION OF DELEGATE AT CONVENTION.

"I (name), do solemnly swear that I will never reveal to any person or authority, either orally or otherwise, the names of the D.A. elected at this Convention; that I will give them my unhesitating obedience in all things bearing on the Organization, and that I will make known to them anything which I may learn that would be either beneficial or injurious to the Organization."

(Page 39) **CLOSING OF CAMP.**

When the Order of Business has been completed, the S.G. will give two raps with the gavel and say:

"BROTHERS, Our work for this meeting is performed. Our mission to lift our land and our people to their proper place in the world should be ever present to our minds, in the outside world as well as at our own meetings. Our duty does not cease when we leave this hall. We should be ever on the watch to defend the interests of the Irish cause against all attacks. Let us stand by one another and show to the rest of our people an example of unity, courage and devotion

that will help to elevate them to the highest level of patriotism, self-respect and self-reliance. Until we meet again secrecy as silent as that of the tomb must guard the knowledge we possess and, amidst the vicissitudes and toils of life, never forget that Ireland has entrusted the cause of her independence to us and expects a faithful fulfilment of our pledges.

" This Camp stands adjourned to meet again———— ———— "

(One rap)

(Back of wrapper)

POLICY OF THE V.C.

April 22nd, 1917.

It is hereby declared by the Executive that, during the continuance of the war between the United States and Germany, the efforts of the V.C. and of all its members shall be devoted entirely to securing the National Independence of Ireland through the intervention of the Government of the United States ; that the work of securing such intervention be carried on strictly in accordance with American law ; that every Club, or group of Clubs, be formed into a committee for that purpose, and that any clause or section of the Constitution of the Organization which may conflict with this purpose is hereby suspended until the end of the war, when a Convention shall be called to make such changes as may be necessary to continue the work of assisting the people of Ireland to secure the establishment of an Irish Republic.

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